

THE Mahumetane or Turkish Historie, containing three Bookes:

- 1 Of the originall and beginning of the Turkcs, and of the fourt Empires which are issued and proceeded out of the superstitious sect of Mahumet.
- 2 Of their Conquests and the succession of the house of Ottoman, till the present reigning of Mahumet the third.
- 3 Of the warres and siege of Malta, which Solyman the great made to the great Maister and brothers of that order.

¶ Heerevnto haue I annexed a briefe discourse of the warres of *Cypres*, at what time *Selimus* the second, tooke from the *Venetians* the possession of that Iland, and by reason thereof I haue adioyned a small discourse conteining the causes of the greatness of the Turkish Empire.

Translated from the *French & Italian* tongues,
by *R. Carr*, of the middle Temple in
London, Gentleman.

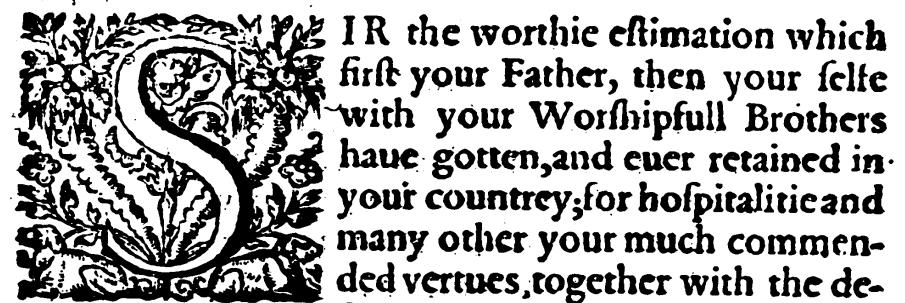
Dedicated to the three worthy brothers
Robert Carr, William Carr and
Edward Carr, in the County
of Lincoln, Esquiers.

AT LONDON,
Printed by Thomas Este, dwelling
in Aldersgate streete: 1600.



The Right Hon^{ble}. Francis North
Baron of Guilford 1733

To the right worthy and worshipfull
his louing cosen Robert Carr of Asuerby in the coun-
tie of Lincolne Esquire, one in his Maiesties
Commission of peace
there.



I R the worthie estimation which
first your Father, then your selte
with your Worshipfull Brothers
haue gotten, and ever retained in-
your country; for hospitalitie and
many other your much commen-
ded vertues, together with the de-
sire I haue alwayes naturally had
to do that declining name: (arightly so cald it in you &
them it decay, whom all the rest hop'te to haue seene
the euerlasting propagators of the same, and in which
number I a sapplesse braunch of that trunke am one)
to whom I owe all seruice or aught which might adde
therewerto reputation; hath drawne mee to make ten-
der of these my traductions, from the French, Latin,
and Italian tongues, of this Mahumetane or Turkish Hi-
storie, to your saide selfe with your brothers, as true
tokens of my devoted minde, whereof to the vtmost
of power you and they may dispose; Not for I
thinke this Dedication or any other acte of mine, can
giue aught to the fulnesse of your prayses whereof e-
very tongue that knows you plentifully speaks: But
only for I seeke in some honest office being an ad-
mirer of your and their vertues, to make knownen my
affection (though my selfe vnknownen) which in ma-

A ij.

ny

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ny meditations hath often wished any occasion, that in trew coullers to you and them might once make it appeare; And now not expecting longer any greater: (for what might he in occasion expect further whose valew onely consists in his minde) being importuned by the much intreatie of friends, that these my paines taken in this Historie might come abroad, I thought none so fit as well in regarde of my saide affection, as of your and their worthinesse to whom to consecrate these my lesse worthie labors. Wherefore to you sir the first both in time and place I present this first booke cōtayning the Originall of these *Turckes* with the foure Monarchies discended of them as the forerunner both in time and place to the other following, and not vnfittly appertayning: Because this booke being furnished with much varietie of matter as translations of *Empires*, chaunge of gouernment, small things from their meane beginnings growing to great perfection; great things by indiscretion and litle consideration, ruined, and ouerthrowen: Occasions hapning and happely pursued, drawing estimation and aduancement; neglected, pulling on dissolution and destruction. I say these and such like in this euerie where appearing to whom might I commend then your selfe whose ripe age cannot but be freshly stored with multitudes of such good obseruations, gathered from presidents, and examples, foraine and domestique, both of these and former times: And surely when my selfe aright enter in consideration of these thinges (whereof these bookes are a rich store-house) let mee speake it with a reuerend regarde alwaies (and vnder controule of religion) I am in opinion often a *Platonist*, alsigning all mortall affaires necessa-

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necessarie a periode in theyr perfection, to which hauing attayned, they fall into a retrograde of declining, vntill they be brought to the lowest degree which miterie, can alot: nor there long continuing, againe and againe reviue and arise from soorth the ashes like to the *Arabian Phanix*, (or as the Phisitions talke of the state of our bodies) alwaies either mending or impayring but never standing at one stay; So as houlding on this continuall course, the vtmost point euer of felicitie or infelicitie is conioyned in the selte same instant to his next contrarie; which *Macrobius* well obseruing hath worthely depictur'd in these wordes.

*Non possunt primi esse omnes omni tempore
Summum ad gradum claritatis cum veneris.
Consistere ergo & citius quæ descendas decides
Cecidi ego, cadet qui sequitur, hanc est publica:*

And as wee see in casting vp accompts those, and the same counters to fall in places, now of poundes now of pence, without any certaine continuance other then sortis to their course: So not unlike is our condition heere, commaunded still with the chaunge either of better or worse, whereof *Seneca* according to his graue manner hath thus saide;

*Nulla sors longa dolor & voluptas:
Inuicem adant: brevior voluptas.*

Ima permuat breuis bona summis:

Nemo confidat nimium secundis:

Nemo disperet meliora lapsis.

Which reasons whilst more narrowly I doe examine (though not so nicely as *Plato* to say that thorough the operation of the superior bodies in these inferior, or by the revolution of the heauens in this or that time

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time this or that shall fall foorth) haue beegotten in mee a beleefe for maintaining a second of his assertions viz.

Omnes serui ex regibus & omnes reges ex seruis oriundi.
For if in the restlesse variation of things and progresse of time, vnuoydable ruine attend the succession of greatness, but aduauncement on the posterite of miserie: who liues in so base and abiect fortune who may not challenge his being from worthie auncesters, and assure himselfe in him or his to see the arisng Sunne of bright shining honor; As on the contrarie, what other aduanced to the highest degree of dignitie, who may not suspect the meanes of his first beginning, and iustly feare in the weaning of his fortunes to what cōdition (by the violence of this currant) he or his may be brought; All this I say am I drawne more redely to laine too; by reason of this present historie, for behoulding heerein from how lowly and small beginnings the victorious & neuer degenerating race of these *Ottamans*, together with the invincible nations of their *Turkes* are growen; that being but bare breach *Tartars* only, runne out of the caues of those horrid countryes of the *Riesen* and *Caucasus* mountaines, yet haue with glorious successe in their attempts ledde captiuitie captiuie, made themselues now conquerours ouer the whole East; & in fine are become euен the terror of the West. Sacking infinit numbers of Citties and Countryes: dispoyleynge multitudes of Princes and high discended families of theyr liues, together with theyr crownes and kingdomes: and this done in so few yeares space aboue all opinion, or what else before was euer executed by the antique world. It cannot be but to that which the course

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course of things doth daylie cast vpon them; (if there be a course in things which is not my purpose further heere to dispute:) God almighty in his secret iudgements doth hasten their proceedings, to chastice the ingratitude of vs Christians for the small thankefulness wee shew for so many his gratiouse benefits liberally, (though vnworthely) bestowed on vs. But my office is not of a diuyne, hauing in purpose to make knowē onely what they haue euен from the first done, and daylie doe, rather then the reason of the deede, how it is or can be done. In which I heere present you and your Worshipfull brothers with three bookees. This of their Originall, and the severall Monarchies discended from them; Another of their conquests and the succession of the house of *Ottaman*, whose greatness hath in manner drownd all the rest; The third of the small gainefull attempt giuen by *Soliman* (great Grandfather to *Mahumet* the third of that name who now reigneth) to the Isle of *Malta*, or *Melita*, defended chiefly by the forces of the great Maister, and the valiancy of the worthy brothers of that order. By which last booke I wold thus much inferre, that since the prowesse of so small a handfull was not onely able to withstand, but repell the furie and huge forces of so confident an enemie, puffed vp with pride & assurance of so many rich spoiles and gayned victories: O what then would the forces of Christian Princes vnted doe, so we might but once see the glorious beams of that bright shyning day appeare. To this I haue annexed likewise an abstract (borrowed frō the *Italians*) of such causes as are saide to giue greatness to the *Turckish Empire* a breuiate onely of a larger worke yet by me vnfurnished, deuided into three bookees
A.iiiij. which

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which by gods grace shal come forth shortly, shadowed
with the fauours of you & your brothers names. These
former in the meane time if it shall please you to respect
with that kinde acceptance which from you they seeke,
though not well deserue: I of my paines receive a large
requitall, who desire nothing more; Lastly whereas seuer-
ally I assigne dedications of these books to you & your
brothers, vpon my severall reasons in their Epistles set
downe: it is not of any purpose to deuide you or them
from the pleasure of any part, which I wish should bee
common vnto all: but rather to expresse thereby your
mutuall natures conformities, for as these books though
diuersly directed, yet thus together perteinate theyr
content to all readers alike if they please, whereto the
dedication giues no hinderance. So you of all liuing
brothers (with the mightie admiration of men) in
distinct bodies are sayde to haue in euerie good thing
one and the same vnchangeable will & minde alwayes
resident: where *meum* and *tuum* the worldes sole con-
tentions neuer take place. Thus wishing to your Wor-
shippe all content of your desires, and therein the full
fruition of your health, with much affection prayed for
by many, I take my leaue and to your good opinion
commend mee; From the midle Temple this 20. of
March. 1600.

Your kinsman in all faifthfull
service at command

R. Carr

I : S : To his kinde friend R. C.

T He well fed paunch, sound sleepes and proud attire
From face of men hath banisht vertue quite
VVhereby the course of natures free desire
Is cleane corrupt by customes soule despite.

So euerie light is spent which gratioues heauen
Assynd this lyfe our staggering steppes to stay
That now a worthie wonder it shall seeme
If any one shall glorioues actes assay.

The Lawrell wittes reward, the Mirtle eloquent
Drownd in contempt with faire Philosophie
The gayning people hould for tyme mispent
And few folkes feete the strayter path doe trie
Yet gentle friend let mee of you require,
Pursue the prayse due to your harts desire.

C : S : To his louing cosen & good friend. R.C.

F Speake no prayse to thee my Cosen kinde
(For well of aught I know you seeke no prayse)
But ioy to see that these our better dayes
Shall bee adornd with beauties of thy minde.

O how I feard thy modest thoughts inclinde
To sit in silence musing mourning layle
In scorne of fame and all that honor rayle
would drowne the parts which heauen to thee assynd

I know thy worth and so shall many moe
(Vnlesse thy selfe and many moe thou wrong)
And since begoone to let thy selfe in shone
Bring out thy store in darknesse hid too long
Nor doubt nor aught for if (as east) I see,
That pleaseth others which once pleaseth mee.

B

R : M :

R : M : To his friend. R : C :

NO little glorie gaine they I confess
who siflicorine tonges our language teach
Yet he farre more deserues without impeach
His owne braines birth who well dyd e'er expresse.

Then gentle friend make you your selfe not leesse
To post vs French and Latine in our speach:
But broach those queres of rare conceit and reach,
Which I haue scene most worthie of the presse.

Those loue sick Sonnes, those pleasing Comedies,
VVhich oft with much attencion I haue heard;
That rich discourse, where loue in louing dies:
And of all wittes those, paradoxs preserf.

(O) let this age but some of these behold
And prayse thy pen writ in a veyne of gold.

The answere to his friend. R : M :

MY dearest friend I willingly confess,
That I whose life shold other lead & teach,
Am not deuoid of blame, and foule impeach,
VVhich (O,) I would no tongue could e're expresse.

Now for I haue my selfe in woorth made leesse:
Too stale a fable to the publick speach,
Is't not enough: but that I furtherer teach
To blaze my follies in a printing presse.

No pardone no, both songes and Comedies,
And what besides pleasing applause hath heard,
VVithout remorse in their creation dies:
To byrth and buriall rites at once preserf.
Too much of these dyd men in me behold,
O would time past could be regaid with gold.

FINIS.

The Preface, To the curteous Reader.



IT is no small wonder unto me gentle Reader, though the worth of the argument contained in these bookees were lesse, why the examplex of other nations (as in other things) should not so much preuayle in our countrey men, as to stirre by some, according to the presidents in many other languages (wherewith the world in large volumes is fraught,) to haue written somewhat of these Turkish affayres; For if we regard the greatnesse of their attempts, their fortunatenesse in successe, their Discipline, or what else may adde aught to militarie glorie: you shall finde them in my conceite not inferior but superior farre in euery thing which hath gauen estimation to former ages, of which bookees we see every hand and studie full, whilſt these alonx are hid from our people for want of some paine taking pen that might transfer ſo rich treaſure from ſtraungers unto vs. If new things delight, (according to the naturall ingrafted condition of man,) these are new; If benefit be expected in bookees, (I especially in histories,) for comisayle & forewarning mischiefs in the examples and harmes of others, ſo what former historie may we reap greater then this: stored with ſo many and notable presidents of all ſorts, fresh bleeding as it were

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The Preface to the Reader.

were before our eyes, (and which should be a greater motiue) telling of ensowing danger, not much deuided frō our owne doores, when daylie we lamentably see our neighbours houses not farre of flaming. New fashioned clothes derived from straungers, are every day much esteemed, new fashioned maners, new fashioned wittes are affected: then either for the worth or fashion, let these French and Italian traductions receive your favorable censures: I dyd propound no greater gaine in my paines, and hope of your curtesies to obtaine no lesse, which graunted shall encourage me to shew you yet so ne-what more worthie ere long in this argument, wherin I having first (for aught I know) broken the ice (saving onely the Historie of Scanderbegg of th: late Persian warres, & that of Tambeilain though exceeding well done yet but particular parts of this discourse) shall be glad to haare of any companion for further paines, to whom this subiect will afford enough of sufficient and worthie matter; And so crauing you would friendly correct what faults in the Impression haue passed either by me or the Printer, I take my leaue, and rest the seruant of every well willing reader.

R : Carr.



The Originall and beginning of the Turkes, and of the foure Empires which are issued and proceeded out of the superstitious sect of Mahumet.



Onsdiering that I haue the penne in hand, I make so mine accompt, that I were as good to make an ende as to staie, vntill you required of me, from whence the nacion of the Turkes are come, & what manner people they be, that haue bene so much vnknowen to our predecessors sauing about three hundredth yeeres agone, and that Pomponius Mela, and Piiny haue made some mention of them and numbered the among the Scythians. But, to declare truely, their originall and beginning, it behoueth to beginne at the Sarazines, and than to write of the Empires, that haue beeene engendered of their wicked and abhominable superstition and sect, as the Caliphe of Baudras, the Miramamolin of Aphrick, the Souldain of Egyp, the Assan or Sophie of Perse. For these are they from whom the Turkes are proceeded.

M A H O M E T, (whom some doe call Muhamet, and the Turkes Mehemet, that is to say, loued or prayled,) was an Arabian; & borne in a village (nigh to Mecque) called Itrarip, about the yeere, of our Lord & saviour Iesus Christ 600. at such time as the Emperor Heraclius gouerned in Grecia, & king Dagobert reigned in Fraunce, his father was named Abdala, which word may be interpreted, the seruaunt of God, though in deede he was

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a Gentile and very Idolator. But *Mahumet* being an Orphan at the age of eight yeares, was left in the regiment of one of his vncles, named *Abutaliph*, who caused him to be instructed by a *Jewe* in the *Mathematical* and naturall *Sciences*; and after that to be married at the age of fifteene or sixteene years, and then instructed him in the trade of Merchandise, which hee practized both in Egipt and Sury, wher not a litle he frequented the company of *Iewes & Christians*, but chiefly with a Moncke of the order of saint Benet called Iohn, (as the Bishop of *Ptolemais* or *Acon* reporteth,) as also with another Monck called *Sergius* an hereticall *Nestorian*, of whom he learned the holy Scriptures, & especially the old & new Testament. To which knowledge whē he had attaigned & cōsidered with himself, that it was no great difficult matter vnder the shadow of Religion, so to draw to him the *Arabians* being but grosse, rude, and Idolators: he therefore absented himselfe out of compagnie and remayned secret by the space of two yeares. And after that presented himselfe to the people saying, that all the while of his absence, he was with the *Angell Gabrill* who taught and gaue to him the law of God; and that to beleeue in Idols was foolish & vaine. But perceiuing, that at that time, his woords could obtaine small credit, he inuented another policie. For which purpose he had an Esclau called *Zeidimy* to whom he told that the will of God was, that all men should be free, & therfore dyd giue him immediatly his libertie, wherby fro euery part, all the Esclaves in a countrey repayred to *Mehemet*, and gaue him such credit, that whatsoeuer hee commanded, they obeyed him: In so much as this companie,

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panie, thus drawne togetheres, brought no litle dread and feare to some great and welthie families in *Mecque*, as were the *Caraxins*, *Haximins*, and *Benimitains*, who vp-on the intelligence of the drawing togetheres of this wicked packe, tooke armour against them. Whereof *Mehemet* getting intelligence, fled immediatly, and retired himselfe to the towne of *Almedine*, sithens calld *Medinathalmaby*, which is so much to say, as *Medin* of the Prophet, where he began in such sort to preach to the *Iewes*, that in stede to beleeue him, they beat him in sundrie fights and his Esclaves also. So as in one of these skirmishes *Mehemet* gat such a stroke ouerhwart his face, that not onely hee lost two of his sore teeth, but also was left for dead in a dike ther, wherin he was cast: though in the ende he ouercame the *Iewes*. And because the *Arabians*, (which indeede be discended from *Ismuell* the sonne of *Abraham*, and of *Agar* his wiues maide,) were called *Agarinis*; hee caused to be ordained (in that it was not honorable for his people to carie the name of a woman seruant,) that from thence forth they should be named *Sarazins*, deducted from the name of *Sara*, the lawfull wife of *Abraham*, alledging that *Ismuell* was engendred of *Sara* and not of *Agar* his maiden. The which name of *Sarazins*, so long endured, vnto such time as the Turkes dyd abolish both the name and the nation, as heereafter I will declare. *Mahumet* having thus crept into credit among ths ignorant and rude people, that hee was a Prophet and messenger of God, hee acquainted himselfe with a Lady of no litle wealth and riches; named *Tadiga* or *Cadiga* being a widow, and so to the pur-

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pose,

pose, hee behaued himselfe towards hir, that hee married hir, although hee had three other wiues besides hir, whereof the one was called *Anosse*, the second *A-haff*, and the third named *Seick*, or *Zeich*, whom he rauished from one that was one of his bringers vp, bee-sides a Concubine that he had called *Marie a Christian* woman of the leet of the *Jacobits*. And than he began to publish his damnable law that it was lawfull for any man to haue soure wiues. Howbeit, thorough the marriage of this Lady, *Mahumet* was wondersull re'nforced and strengthened, in such sort, as that thorough his welth that hee dyd get, he was able to wage soldiours. Whereby partly by force, and partly by good oppini-on that was had in him, all his neighbours obeyed him, and so as his trayne growing to such a number thorough the multitude of *Sarazins* that repaired to him, the Emperour *Heraclius* (who at that time had vnder his dominion, both the countries of *Surie*, *Egipt*, and *Africk*) serued himselfe with these people in his warres against the *Persuns*. Howbeit, it so afterwards came to passe, that at a pay of the Emperours army, among whō at that time vvere certaine bands of the *Sarazins*, so as mony vvas not so plentie there at that instant, able to pay the vvhole army: And that hee, which had the order of the pay of the army, among vvhom the bands of *Sarazins* also were, attending for their vvages, vndescretly gaue answere to the *Sarazins*, that the Emperor had not mony ynough, thereto pay the *Christians*, that vvere Souldiours; and therfore they being but dogges, ought not to demaund for vvages. With vvhich aunswere, the *Sarazins* being not a little moued, departed from

from the seruice of the Emperour, and returned into *Africk* where they found *Mahumet*. The Emperour *Heraclius*, afterward sent into *Africk* to leuie his tribute there, which seemed to bee not a little greeuous to the *Africans* to be so much troubled with subsidies, as they were: they falling into a mutinie, (and stirred thereto also with the subtill perwasions of *Mahumet*, that told them, the pleasure and will of God was that each one should liue at liberty,) the *Commissaries* of the Empe-rour were there slaine, and the countries of *Egipt* and *Africk* reuolted wholy from the obedience of the Em-pire; of which rebellion, *Mahumet* was chiefe and their Generall: Who by reason of the same was immedately pursued both by the *Christians* and *Lewes*. And albeit the Emperour did send against him a great army vnder the leading of one of his Nobilitie called *Theodore*, who fought lundy battelles with the *Africans*: yet in the end *Theodore* being ouerthrowne and slaine. *Mahumet* with his *Sarazins* after this victorie departed from thence, & inuaded the countries of *Sury* & *Mesopotamia*, and made conquest of the same. Thus then the *Greekes*, lost the countries of *Surie*, *Egipt*, and *Africk*, & other ter-ritories which the Emperours of *Rome* and *Grecia*, had euer in possession from the time of *Iulus Cesar*, sauing that part of *Africk* which the *Vandals* held who were *Christians*, though *Arians*, & there had continued from the time that the *Romaines*, suffered them to inhabit: And so *Mahumet* was crowned king in *Damascio*, about the yeere of our Lord God 630. and liued after about tenne yeeres.

After the death of *Mahumet* the *Sarazins* preferred
C. to

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to his kingdome one of his disciples & familiars, named *Othmar* whom the *Turks* doe call *Othmar*. Howbeit some affirme that hee that next succeeded *Mahumet* was one called *Bubacher*, otherwise named *Caliph* which word signifieth enheritor or successor, beccause hee was placed in the roime & authoritie of *Mahumet*, and so after him were called all his successors, though some *Italian* authors doe call them *Alipha*. The chiefest place where the *Caliph* had his residence, was established at the citie of *Baudars* which the *Italians* call *Baldat*, & the *Turks* *Bazdei*, that sometime was the famous citie of *Babylon* though others hold opinion that this Citie, was that, which in times past was named *Susa*, and is situated vpon the riuers of *Eu*, *brates*. About this time the *Sarrazins* conquered in a little space (vpon the *Greekes*) the territorie of *Caramanie* aunciently called *Cilicia* where the citie of *Antioche* standeth, and *Pamphilia* which at this day is called *Scauri*, and the towne of *Selucia* named by the inhabitants there *Scandalor*, and after that they made enterprize vpon the kingdome of *Persia*, which they call *Pharsie* and this was about that time when the *Greekes* did cut of the nose, and the tongue also, of the Empresse *Martine* and *Heraclion* hir sonne and of the Emperour *Heraclius*, beccause they enpoisoned *Constantine* the eldest sonne of *Heraclius* begotten vpon an other wife at such time also the *Lumbards* entred into *Italy*. Of *Persia*, at this tiine, was king one called *Hormisda*, named also by *Hayton* (that writheth of these matters) *Ascator* he electred king next after *Adaezar*, sonne of *Syroe* sonne of *Cosroe* or *Cosdroe* whom the Emperour *Heraclius* tooke prisoner when he recouered the city of *Hierusalem*. *Hormisda*

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da, hauing assured intelligence that the *Sarrazins* were comming to inuade him, fought for succours at such as were his neighbours and chiefly of those of *Turquessia* who frontered vpon the *Persia*: on the West & towards the East on the realme which *Hayton* calleth *Tarsie*, and vpon the famous riuer of *Indus* towards the North, and to the *Corsimons* and *Med*, on the South (which are the verie confines and limits which *Plinie* and *Strabo* doe appoint to the *Parthes*) whom the *Turkes* doe call *Turquemianas* as *Francis Freinston* saith. This nation which sitteth by the Frenchmen & other haue bene named *Turquemans*, and afterward *Turks*, (who among them at that time had no manner of law or policy, departed out of their countrie, to the number of six thousand fighting men, to come to the succour of king *Hormisda*: But bee-cause (according to their custome) they brought their wifes and children with them, they were the longer in comming, so as before they came, the *Sarrazins* and king *Hormisda* had fought togheters, and *Hormisda* overthrown and slaine, about the yeare of our Lord God 640. And so the *Sarrazin* became Lords of *Persia* and of the whole countries about, lauing the realme of *Abear*, which is in *Georgid*, & a part of the greater *Armenie* called *Helen* who were the refuge & recepeacle of *Christians*. The *Turquemians* being by this arrived, (in that part of *Persia* named *Choraken* or *Chetrosley* and by some *Cannakale*) they understande of the overthrow and death of *Hormisda*: for which cause, they staid there, and fortifyed themselves in the best wise they could, and sent vnto the *Sarrazins*, requesting to accept them as their friends, & withall that they would receiue tribut from them,

C.ii.

The M^{ah}umetane.

them, for vvhich alvvai^s they vwould bee at their commandement to serue them faithfully in their vvars, if it vwould further vouchsafe the Sarazins to beestovv on them the place, vvhile they at that time vvere to inhabit. The Sarazins received their ambassage curteously & accepted them as their friendes and offred Tributaries; hovvbeit they caused the Turks to lodge further of in a part of another countrie vvhich they appointed them, to thende that if they revolted; they should doe the Sarazins lesse harme. In this manner remained the Turks or Turquimains, tributaries, & as it vvere subiects to the Sarazins, vvhose customes, lavvs, & maners, they quickly learned through continuall trade and frequentation vvhich they had a among the Sarazins; insomuch, as in the end therwas no manner of difference betwixt the, either in religion, law, or forme of life; which was very easie for the Turks to doe considering, that beore they lived without any law, rule, or policie, which they wer sooner moued to embrace onely to be pertakers of the honours and riches which the Sarazins, of whom these Turks became familiar companions and meruailously well beloved, for that they tred themselues to be every where in their warres, their best souldiers. Thus they liued togetheris about three hundred yeeres, that they were accounted in manner to be of one nation. Howbeit the Turquimains kept themselues alwaies apart by themselues and grew to bee of such wealth and might, that about the yeere of our Lord God 1400 they became maisters ouer the Sarazins by occasion of discord growing among the Sarazins themselues, as haicet shall be declared.

This

or Turkish Historie

5

This first Calphe endured not very long, because another Sarazin named Ascaly, chalcd him from his place, purposing to haue usurped his rume, howbeit he could not so attaine it; for he was slaine by the Sarazins, who preferred another (to that dignitie) called Haly.

Haly, the second Calphe, was coosen Germain to Mahumer, & his sonne in law (as some affirme) having maried Fatma, (whom the Turks prounonce Fatma) the daughter of Mahumer, whose lawes litle chaunged, or rather anulled, and made new of his ovne inuention, through which innovation of religion, or rather superstition, the Sarazins beecame meruailously deuided: Insomuch as those vvhich folloyyed Mahumer made a Caliph in Egypt, The others remained in Persia vvhile Italy vwho alvvai^s continued in such reverence and estimation as vwell among them as vwith the Turks at this day, that incontinently next to Mahumer vwhen they goe about any of their affaires, they say All is Mahumer, Haly, God Mahumer, and Haly. Thus the Sarazins began to be deuided among themselves, the vvhich division hath euer sinnes continued, and endureth yet: For albeit the Turks & the Persians also are in effect verily M^{ah}ometans, yet differ they so in ceremonies, & other conterarieties of opinion, that the one do account the other verily heretiques. The Calphe doth execute his office as though he were both their Pope and their Emperour. For these Caliphs doe ordaine gouernours and officers through ouery province vvhile they haue authortie, vvhich they call Sultans, vvhich may be interpreted Princes or gouernours. But by succession of time, this title Sultan, is conuerted to an appellation or name C.iii.

Total

As the Latin word Imperator at the first was no name of Regall power and authortie.

roiall, and signifieth the word king. At the time of this first devision there was a Sultan of Alexandria named Selym that killed the first Caliphe of Egypt, and returned in obedience to the Caliphe of Baudras to haue fauour.

After this, part of those Sarazines of Egypt that would not come to the obedience of the Caliph of Baudras, passed into Africk & chased from thence the Vandales, which were Christians, but heretiques, maintaining the abominable error of the Arrians, wher these Vandales had domination sithens the time of their king Gencericus, who with his nation being Vandales were chased out of Hispan by the Gothes (that were Arrians as they also were) and so arriued in Africk in the time of the Emperour Theodosius the yong sonne of Arcadius about the yeere of our Lord God 410. and after were tributaries to the Emperours of Constantinople where they remained vnto the yeere of our Lord God 668. that the Sarazines (as aboue said) ther first entred; and established a generall to rule ouer them, whom they named a Miramamolin, which is so much to say as a ruler or lord ouer y people, & ordained his residence & place of dignitie, to bee at Mirchque, at this day called Tunis nigh to Cartage. Which name of Miramamolin hath sithens beeene chaunged: for at this day they call their king Mulec, as he that at this day reigneth at Tunis, is called Mulec Aſſan that is to say, king or Seigneur Aſſan.

I would not discribe to you further at length what the Sarazines did, after their conquests of Persia & Africque. But will admit a little intermission vnto the yeere of our Lord God 1040. at which time they were subdued by the Turkes or Turquains their tributaries. For other-

otherwise that were against my purpose, determining rather to make an Epitome or abridgement, than a whole large Chronicle of their dooings.

THIS yeere of grace 660. Mehua (which signifieth suddaine or hasty) Sultan of Egypt, successor of Selym tooke the Isle of Rhodes, and carried away the famous Colosse or piller of Brasse that was esteemed on height three score and tenne elles, which an Earthquake overthrew as Plinic affirmeth.

IN the yeere of our Lord God 660. Abdalla (the Sultan of Egypt after Mehua,) came to Syracuses; where sometime was slaine the Emperor Constantins sonne to Constantine, whom his mother in law Mirtyn, wyte to Heraclius caused there to be poysoned: where the Sarazines sacked the towne with a great part of the riches of Rome which the said Constantins before had caused to bee brought thither to haue conueyed the same to Constantinople.

ASOVR the yeere of 690. Abimelech (which woord may bee enterpreted the father of the King) inuaded Hispan, with a nauie of 270. shippes, but was repulsed, and from thens passed into Africk, from whence, againe the Sarazines were chased by the Emperor Iustinian the second: And so Abimelech was the first Miramamolyn among the Sarazines, against whom, the Emperor Leonce sent a Captain of his, named Tiberius who by the armie was made Emperor, and so without executing further his charge, returned to Constantinople, against his Master Leonce, where after he had taken him, and cut of his nose, he cast him in prison in which the miserable Leonce remained all his life: These matters being done at the C.iii.

time, whan *Sergius*, the first of that name, was Pope. And Theodorick or Thierry sonne of Clouys reigned King in Fraunce.

IN the yeere of our Lord God 712. Sultan Selyman (which is so much to say as peisable) whom, some doe call *QVL ET M N*, the Caliphe of Baudraz besieged Constantinople, but thorough pestilence and famen, posleffing his Camp, he was driven to raiſe his ſiege, which before had beene continued by the ſpace of two yeeres. And this was, at what time the Emperor Theodoxe had taken his predecessor *Anastasius* & made him a Monck, when *Gregory the twelveth* was Pope, and Chilperick the last King of the line of Pharamonde reigned in France.

In thistime, alſo *Mizza Miramolin*, ſuccellor of *Abitimelch*, at the request of Sultan the Conte of *Conſuegra* (who was ſent as Embaffador to him, fro Rodoigo King of Hispania) cauſed twelue thouſand men vnder the leading of his generall called Cariph, to paſle into Hispania againſt the layde King Roderigo to tenenge the iniurie done to the ſayd Conte Julian, in that Roderigo had deflowered the daughter (or as ſame doe ſay the wife) of the ſayde Conte Julian, called Caba, as the Chronicles of Hispania doe make mencion: Who landed at Gibrltar which place our auncient name Calpe and the Sarazins, Gibelcariph (the Mount of Cariph,) and from thence marched alongſt the famous Riuſ of *Betis* (and by the Sarazins named *Guadalquiber*) which is ſo called vnto this day. Where nigh vnto the ſame, in a ſoughten battell the layde King Roderigo, (who was the laſt king of the line of the Gothes) was ſlayne.

And taking hold of occation the Sarazins ſo fatre then
pro-

proceded, that they conquered in manner the whole kingdomme of Hispania, where they lost the name of the Sarazins and were called by the Spaniers, Moores of the name of the countrey in Afrique (from whence they came) called Mauritania.

THE yeere 725. Eudes Duke of Aquitain, otherwife called the Duche of Guien (dilcended from Alarie king of the Gothes, who in the yeere of our Lord 412. at ſuch time as the Emperour Honorius reigned) dyd poſſeſſe the ſame duche of Guien, from whence paſſing into Hispania, and from thence chafing the Vandales, as before I haue ſayde, brought into Fraunce (againſt Theoderick brother of Chilperick, ſonnes of Dagobert the ſecond of that name: which Theoderick was the laſt king of the lignē of Pharamond.) Thoſe Sarazins, (who at that time were in Hispania, conducted by Abderaman (whom the French Historiographers doe call Adramar) King of Cordoua, who after their entrie into Fraunce, tooke the townes of *Bourdeaux*, *Tolofe*, *Narbone*, *Nimes*, *Arles* and *Auignon*, *Platina*, *Blondus*, *Sabellicus*, and other Historiographers doe write that thoſe Sarazins came even to towres, where they were fought with, by *Charles Martel*, (father of *Pipin*,) and ouerthrown ſo as all that euer was wonne by them before, was againe recouered by the ſame King Charles, and the Sarazins chafed into Hispania, where after they remayned more than 700. yeeres. Vnto ſuch time as *Ferdinand* the king of Aragon did win from them the Citie and Countrie of Granado: (which was in the yeere of our Lord God 1487.) Howbeit, ther tarried and remayned ſtill ſundrie townes and villages entier, peopled with the Sarazins whom the Emperour

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Charles (the fifth of that name) comming to his dominions in Hispan found ther dwelling, and caused to embrace the christian faith, yet they could neuer bee compelled to chaunge their habit or the language of the Sarazins, nor perhaps secretly their abominable Mahometical sect, what face outwardly so euer they shew.

In the yeere of our Lord God 500. the Sarazins of Africk, did take the Isles of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, and two and twentie yeeres after they pilled and sacked the Isles of Candia and *Sicilia*, and so held them more than two hundredth yeeres: at what time Pope Leo was persecuted by the Lumbards, and succoured by *Charlemain*.

The yeere of our Lord God 837. The Sarazins vnder the leading of Sultan Saua wan the port of *Civitavecchia*, in Italy and sacked the citie o' Rome, and the Church of Saint Peter, with the *Mont Cassin* (otherwise called *Saint Germain*, which is the chiefe monestary or abbie of *Saint Benet*. And twentie yeeres after that they tooke the port of Ancona and ouer ran all the coasts on that side of the Golfe of Venice, and likewise those on thother side on the coast of Sclauonie: and this done in the reynes of Lotharie son of Lois le Piteux king of Fraunce, and *Michaell* Emperour of Constantinople about the yeere of our Lord God 900. they likewise assailed the territories of *Pulia* & *Calabria* in the kingdome of Naples, & wan *Mont Gargan*, otherwise called *Le Mont Saint Auge*) when as Constantine sonne of Leo, who was sonne of *Basilus* Emperour of Constantinop'e reigned and that Berengier (of the ligne of the Lombards) caused the eies of Lewes (who was last Emperour of the ligne of the Frenchmen and sonne vnto to the Emperour *Arnold*) to bee

or Turkish Historie.

8

bee put foorth.

In the yeere 923. Roman the Emperour of Constantinople, did stir the Sarazins to inuade the territories of *Pulia* and *Calabria* which rebelled against him: Howbeit the Sarazins were ouerthrown at the riuier of *Garrigian* by the Marquiz of Tuscan named *Aulbry* or *Alberic*, at the especiall instance of Pope Ichan the eleuenth of that name.

In the yeere 930. the Sarazins wonne the towne of *Gennes*, and spoiled all that coast of the Sea, when the Berengiers occupied the Empire, & fortified the towne of *Fraxinet* which they kept 100 yeeres.

Thus the Sarazins continued inuading and spoiling the fertile regions of *Italy* (while the controuersies were depending about the right of possessing the Empire, betweene the *French*, the *Greekes*, and *Lombards*, & the discentions were on foote betweene the Popes & the people of Rome in such sort, as they enjoyed the most part of *Pulia* and *Calabria* which they kept euen vnto the yeere of Grace 990 or thereabouts, that they were chased both from thence and out of *Sicilia* also, by *Tancred de Haulte Ville*, or *Haulte Fucille* in Normandy, (who first beegan with them) but ended by *Guillaume Ferrabach* sonne of the said *Tancred*, with the help of *Maloch leiuutenant of Michaell Cathalau* Emperour of Greece: And so they did bring back from the hands of the Sarazins *Pulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicilia*, whereof the said *Guillaume* remained lord, in the time of *Robert the French king*, and of the Emperour *Otho*, the third of that name.

In the yeere of our Lord 1040. the number of Sul-

D.ii.

tains

tains or Soldains began to be many : For in euery Province, the Caliph (as I before declared) did institute one as at Damasco one; at Hames another; at Halep the third : in Egipt another, & the like in sundry other places; who falling at dissention one with the other, did in the end reuolt from the obedience of the Caliph. In Hispania likewise, euerie of the Moors that could get vnder his obedience a citie or towne, would immediately vsurpe the name of a king, as at Granado, Cordoua, Toledo, Sarragosa, Ciuitia, and Valentia. In like manner was it vsed in Africk, as at Tunes, Tripolis, Bugia, Maroch, Fesse, and Tremessen and other places also there, so as in manner no kinde of amitie or friendship was maintained among these kings, but for the most part continuall dissention & wars. Wherof when the Turks had got intelligence (who as yet rested vnder the obedience of the Caliph who were meruailously this while encreased both in wealth & number of people) and withall perciuing that the Sarazins were wonderfully weakened and diminished through these intestine deuisions & wars thus among them selues, they made a king whō they called Sadoc (which name is so much to say as Iust) and inuaded the Sarazins whom within short time they ouerthrew, so as therby they made the selues shortly dominators ouer whole Persia and Syria, alwaies with great reuerence regarding in no wise to touch the Caliph, for the high estimation that they bare him who was suffered still to liue quietly at Baudras. And at whose hands the said Sadocke would be named and created the Sultan of Asie, howbeit he liued not long after.

After

After Sadoc, his sonne Dogriz succeeded, who did annex to the gotten Empire of his father the country of Mesopotamia which Diogenes the Emperour of Constantinop'le had recouered from the Sarazins at such time as they had warres among them selues as likewise the whole countrie of Cilicia, which hee gaue to his cosen Arthot.

To Dogriz succeeded Aspalam his sonne, who about the yeere of our Lord God 1080. did send his Nephew Solyman into Cappadocia (being than vnder the possession of the Greekes) to whom he gaue all there, that he could conquer: Who in such sort guided his affaires, that he brought vnder his obedience the whole Asia the lesse; except the Sea coasts towards the South, and the Isle of Cipres: And this was that valiant Soliman that gaue charge vpō the famous Godefroy de Buillon and the army of the christians remaining in siege before the towne of Niece, in Asia the lesse, as before I haue shewed; which Solyman the said Hayton doth name Solimansa.

About this time a Gentleman of Hispania named Rodrigo de Vuiar, chased the Moors out of a great part of the realme of Valence in Aragon and from much of Castile, who was named by the Moores, through his excellencie, Cyd : (that is to say, Lord) and Cyd Ruydas, from whom the noble & famous race of the Mendozzas are descended.

To Aspalam succeeded Melechla his sonne who sent Arthot the Sultan of Mesopotamia to Antioche, wherunto also by his commaundement, came the said Solyman and tooke the same citie with all the country about,

Vvhence
family of
Mendoza in
Spaine had
their begin-
ning.

D.iii.

bout, and thus you see how the Greekes lost all *Asia* the lesse.

Belchiarot, sonne of Melechla reigned after his father, who liued whan as Godefroy and the christians passed into the holy land, and besieged the citie of *Antioche* in Suria, being then vnder the dominion of the said Belchiarot, and by him committed to the defence of a Turk named *Affan* or *Cassan*, whom in *Antioche* hee had ordeigned his Generall, to whom after hee sent in succour one named (by Hayton) *Cerbagat*, and by the Frenchmen *Corbadas*, who arived there when the christians had already gotten *Antioche*, where vpon hee besieged them in the same citie a long time, but in the end *Corbadas* was fought with by the christians ouerthrownen & put to flight, as in the Historie of that iourny plainly appeareth, wherfore *Corbadas* now returning back into Persia found that *Belchiarot* was dead, & that his yongest brother pretending right to the crowne was slaine. Now when the Turks of Persia could not accord and agree whom to make their King, but fought long among themselues therupon, the fanie of their dissencion came to the eares of the *Georgiers* and *Armenians* their neighbours, being christians, who considering the great army of the other christians than remaining in Sury, immedately invaded the Turkes thus deuided among themselues, and did beate & chase them out of Persia, so that such of the Turkes as could escape some retired towards *Solyman*, and some to *Arthat*, and others of their nation, being than in *Asia* the lesse. And this was in the yeere of our Lord God 1106. at such time as Baldouin brother to Godfrey reigned king in Hierusalem. This Ge-

orgiens

orgiens after that they had thus chased the Turks out of Persia pilled and spoiled the country, & forbearing from farther pursuit of their good fortune (as they should) against the Souldans of *Damascos*, *Halep*, *Hames*, and others that remained in quietnesse. But with the *Armenians* departing from the realme of Persia, a certaine people among the *Corasmians* (whom some Latin Historiographers doe call *Grossiones*) neighbours to that prouince which diuers doe thinke to bee those whom the auncients doe name to be the Medes who vpon the East haue the Sea called *Mare Caspium*, *Hircanum* or *Abucuth*, and on the South *Turquesten* or *Parthia*, and vpon the North *Cumania* or *Alaxia*, and vpon the Occident or West *Persia* and *Armenie* the greater) who had none other vocation, trade or condition of life, but liued like herdmen and kecpers of cattell, hauing among them neither house or towne (howbeit very valiant in warres) these entred then into Persia, where, of very poore catiues, they beecame a rich people and made a King among them called *Ialaladin* (which signifieth the gift or grace of God.) With this their king they became so hardy and bold as to inuade the Turks beeing in *Asia* the lesse: howbeit they were encountered by the Souldan of Turque named *Aladin* & ouerthrownen in a sore foughten fielde in which conflict *Ialaladin* their King lost his life, & the rest that escaped did assemble themselues in the plaine of *Rohaiz*, with purpose to haue entred into Sury: But the Souldan of *Aleph* did enbarre them of that passage, & chased them euен vnto the deserts of Arabia, who from thence, trausing the territory of *Caldee* or *Assyrie*, they passed the riues of *Euphrates*

D.iii.

nigh

The Mahumetane

nigh to a castell there named Cacabe, and entred into Iudea (otherwise called the Hierusalem) wher they committed much outrage and damage. Howbeit in the end this multitude of disordered people could not long abide togetheres considering euery of them would bee a ruler, so as their Captaine that should haue commanded could not be obeied, and so they departed by troopes and companyes, whereof some retyred towards the Sultan of Damasco, others towards him of Halep, & some to him of Hames, but the most of them repaired to the Soldan of Egipt, to whom likewise repayed their Captaine Bartat; seeing himselfe so abandoned and forsaken of his owne soldiours. And thus decayed the force of this nation of the Corasmins (whom the writers of the passage and iourney of Godfrey doe call Hoarmins,) who mayntained their reputation but a little time.

In this manner the Turkes remayned in Surie, chieffely the Corasmins. Now for the Sarazins they deuided themselues into litle realmes vnto the yeere of our Lord God 1240. or therabouts, that the Tartares ouerthrew them as heereafter shall be declared; whilst in the meane time the Turkes daylie continued wars against the kings of Hierusalem as followeth.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1103. the Turkes tooke prisoner Boemund the Prince of Antioche (sonne of Robert Guiscard surnamed Courbespine discended from Tancred, the Norman of whom beefore I made mencion.) Who, three yeeres after, was redeemed by his nephew Tangrey.

In the yeere 1105. the Turkes made head against Baldwyn

or Turkish Historie,

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Baldwyn the first of that name (King of Hierusalem brother of Godefray) as he besieged the towne of Acre, and were ouerthrown, after which that towne (otherwyse called Accon and Ptolemais) was taken by Baldwyn together with the towne of Licquée, which the auncients call Ibdiladicea. And foure yeeres after that hee tooke the towne of Baruth sometime called Berythus, and so likewise the towne of Sydon.

In the yeere of our Lord 1115 the Turks vanquished and put to flight king Baldwin the second of that name at Montsal.

In the yeere 1120, King Baldwin tooke Gazis (whom some doe call Gary,) from the Souldan of Damaz.

In the yeere of our Lord 1122. King Baldwin was taken prisoner by Balach (named by some Alaph) Souldan of Hames (aunciently called Gamela or Gamela and Gaucamela) which word Balach signifieth a destroier: So as he remained there prisoner by the space of one yeere.

The yeere of our Lord God 1128 King Baldwin discomfited Dolquin (of some named Baldoquin) and of others called Baldeyan, Souldan of Damaz, who succeeded to the Souldan Gazis.

The yeere 1132 Foulques Daniou who maried the daughter of King Baldwin, & succeeded in the kingdome of Hierusalem, ouerthrew the Turkes at Ybelim which Ybelim, Place holy Scripture calleth Geth.

The yeere 1140 or ther abouts, Alaph (or Balach) Souldan of Hames, tooke the towne of Rohaiz & there unmercifully murdered a great number of Christians.

The yeere 1143 King Baldwin the third of that E. name,

Ptolemais
Opp: nunc
Acre.

Laodicea Opp
nunc, Licquée
Berythus Opp:
nunc, Baruth.

Gamela Opp:
nunc, Hames.

The Mahumetane

name, sonne of king Fulque discomfited at Hierico, the valiant Norradin (son to Baldecan,) Soldan of Damas.

The yeere 1146. The Emperour Conrad and King Lewes of Fraunce, sonne of Lewes le Groz passed into Surie, where with king Baldwin they besieged the towne of Damasco, but could not take the same, and therefore they returned home into their Countries.

The ycere 1148 after the departure of these said two Princes, Norradin the Souldan of Damasco besieged Antioche, wher Raimond the Conte of Antioche issuing forth in a skirmish was vnfortunately slaine, the Contes of Rohaiz and Tripoli taken prisoners, which Conte of Tripoli, after, was shamefully murdered by an Assassin.

The yeere 1160 Almery king of Hierusalem brother to king Baldwin, tooke the towne Alexandria, & beesieg'd the great citie of Calte in Egipt.

The yeere 1170 Saladin the Souldan of Egipt began to inuade the holy land in the time of king Baldwin the fourth of that name king of Hierusalem, at what time likewise the Emperour Frederic made warpon the Pope & the church in burning & destroying Italy.

Tyberias Opp:
nunc, Tabaria
The yeere 1174 king Baldwin discomfited the Souldan Saladin, at the towne of Tabaria (which sometime was called Tiberias) & after that ouerthrew a second time at the towne of Ascalone.

The yeere 1179 king Baldwin aforesaid fought againe with the Souldan Saladin at Margelion nigh to the towne of Tabarie, wher king Baldwin then was discomfited.

The yeere 1184 began that disencion among the Christians

or Turkish Historie.

12

Christians in the holy land, which was the cause of the losse of the same : The originall of which was this Guy of Lusignen, hauing married the Lady Sibil sister of the late king Baldwin (and widow of Williagn Longuepce Marquis of Monferrato) by whom she had a son named Baldwin who at that time but suc-ked his Nurce to whom appertained the kingdome of Hierusalem; the said Guy of Lusignen father in law of the infant would needes haue his title and wardship against the will & minde of Bertrand Conte of Tripoly to whose wition and gouernance the childe was giuen by force of the testament of king Baldwin, brother of the said lady Sibell, when in the meane time the infant died & ther vpon Guy of Lusignen named himselfe king in the right of his wife, wherwith the Conte of Tripoly was wonderfullly wroth.

The yeere 1186 Saladin tooke prisoner Guy of Lusignen king of Hierusalem, with the maisters of the Templars and of the order of Sanct John that came to succour the towne of Tabarie, which the said Saladin had then besieged, so as vpon restoring of king Guy, & the both aforenamed maisters to their liberties, Tabarie, Lique, and Ascalone were rendred to Saladin, who in the end wan also the citie of Hierusalem, & after the towne of Acres.

The yeere 1147 the Templars reencountred Saladin, nigh to Caisal Robert, where Saladin ouerthrew them, & slew in fight the maister of the order of Sanct John Hierusalem named Brother Roger dez Molins, which hapned the first day of May that yeere.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1149 ther passed to succour the holy land the Emperour Frederic Barberossee, E.ij. Philip

Philip the French King, and Richard King of England. Frederic tooke his way by land, and comming into Cilicia, where thorough extreame hestate, desirous to bath himselfe (or as some say in passing the riuer, which some doe call Cauno, and the frenchmen, the riuer of Sabit, & the latins doe name Cydnus which passeth through the famous citie of Tharsus, at this present named Therassoy) was vnsafortunatly drowned. The two kings his confreres arived in Sicilia, & frō the towne of Mossana they passed into the holy land, & came to the towne of Acre, which after two yeeres besieging they tooke. King Richard in his passage thereth tooke the Island of Cypres which he gaue to king Guy of Lusignen in exchaunge for the kingdome of Hierusalem: But after the taking of Acre king Phillip being sickly returned into Fraunce.

The yeere 1204. Baldouin Earle of Flaunders and Henry Conte de Saint Paul, with his brother Loys Conte de Sauoy, and the Conte Boniface & Montferrat, with a great company assembled themselues at Venice, to passe from thence into the holy land. To whom the Venetians did graunt ships vpon condition that beofore they passed they should aide them to recouer the towne of Zara in Scialonie (which before had revolted from them) and so having done they after proceeded on their voyage to Constantinople whereof they possessed themselues in the Empire which remained in the frenchmens hands about threescore yeares after.

The yeere 1210. Jehan de Brene, maried the daughter of Conrad of Montferrat, and the Lady Isabell daughter of king Amaury: who was sister of Baldouin the Meseled; and of the Lady Sibel that was wife to Guy of Lusignen;

Lusignen: Which said Jehan de Brene was made king of Hierusalem, & crowned at the towne of Tyrus (which commonly is called Sur and Sor) by reason that it is situated vpon a rocke in the sea. But Alexander the great to the intent to winne that towne filled vp all that distance of the sea betwixt the same and the land with stone and earth, so as at this day the same remaineth firme ground, which towne of Tirus, came into the possession of the said Conte Conrad who afterward was shamefullie, on a suddaine, murdered, by a couple of the sect of the Assassins.

In the yeere 1216. Pope Honorius the third of that name did send the Cardinal Colonne into Surie accompanied with Henry Conte of Nevers and Gualtier of Sancerre constable of Fraunce with others in a great nūber: whiō after their landing in Acre, discended into Egyp, & tooke there the towne of Damiat, which within sixe yeeres after, vpon composition, was surrendred to Corderier son of Saladin, Souldan of Egyp: whom the frenchmen doe call Le Admiral des Cordes; In which time also Jehan de Brene king of Hierusalem accompanied with his brother Garin de Montague great maister of the order of Saint Johns came into Fraunce, & in passing through Italy, the said king of Hierusalem gaue his daughter Yolant in marriage to the Emperour Frederic (second son to Henry, who was sonne to Frederic Barberousse) with the whole interest & title which he had to the kingdome of Hierusalem, which the Kinges of Sicilia doe intitle themselues to & claime at this day.

The yeere 1229. the said Emperour Frederic departed out of Italy giuing hopes that hee would passe into

E.iii.

Surie,

By what title
the kings of
Spaine cha-
lenged the
right of the
crown of I-
erusalem.

Surie, but incontinently hee returned againe as onchauing small deuocion to performer that voiage.

In the yere 1230 the aforesaid *Soldan Corder* caused the vvals of Hierusalem to be ouerthrovven at such time as the Emperour Frederic persecuting the church, gaue beginning to the partialities of the Guelps & Gibelins & therwith not contented, did call in the Sarazins of Africk to his seruice, and gaue to them the towne of Nuccera in Italy (vwhich yet is called Nucera des Sarazins) from vwhich afterward they vvere expulshed by the Frenchmen.

In the yeere 1237 *Theobald* king of Nauarre, *Emery Conte of Montfort*, & *Henry Conte of Campaign*, & *Barr*: vwith a great army passed through Hungary & Constan-tinople into Surie, and recouered sundry townes which the Sarazins beforre had wonne, but encountering with the *Soldan Corder* betwixt the tovnes of Acre, and Gazera (sometime called Gaza) there they vvere dis-comfited and ouerthrovven by the same Soldan.

In the yeer of our Lord God 1244 the christians were discomfited at a place called Forbye, where were taken the Maister of our order of Sainct Iohns called brother Guillaume de Chastelneuf and the Maister of the Tem-pliers named brother Herman de Pierrefort, the Arch-bishop of Sury, and two sonnes of Signeur de Boteron, (which otherwise was called Botrus) with moe then three hundred Gentlemen; At which time likewile the cruel wars by sea began betwixt the Venetians, & the Geneuoys about the intrest & possession of the Mones-tary of Sainct Saba in the towne of Acre in Sury, which may wch be laid another cause of y losse of the holy land.

In

¶ In the yeere 1249 Lewes the French king, otherwise named *Saint Lewes*, passed the Seas and was taken prisoner before the tovne of Damiat in Egyp, by the Soldan Melechalem, but after his attained liberty hee recouered the tovnes of Sidon and Iasse aunciently called Joppe before that time taken by the said Soldan. I am now come vnto the time that the Tartares inuaded the Turks or Turquimans, but to the end it may be better understood how this came to passe, & frō whom this people of the Tartares haue their being, it behoueth me adisse to sume back, & to begin a little before this time.

¶ In the yeere 1231. in that country of Tartaria vwhich at this day is called Catay, (and the Orientall Scythia) at vwhich time the Tartares liued vwithout knowl-edge of any law, or forme of gouernment: there was one (by Hayton) called *Cangy*, and by *Paulus Venetus*, *Chinchis*, but by *Michael a Michou*, (Cinguis) beegotten vpon a widow during hir widdow-hood: who hauing other children by hir former hus-band, they would haue staine hir all for shee had conceiued this *Cangy* while shee was widow: howbeit shee so wittely behaued hir selfe in hir words, that shee caused them beleue, how she conceiued that birth by force of the beames of the sun; & other farther in name the child had not, which opinion taking place, was not onely auailable to the mother, but also afterwards to *Cangy*, who coming to perfect age, brought this barbarous people to beleue that the almighty God, had sent him to bee their king; & to make them Lords of those other nations to whom euен vnto that time they had ben tributaries, by reason they neuer had head to guide the
E. iiiij. And

And so prudently this Cangy called himselfe that he subdued all his neighbours, and therefore was tur-named Cangy Can, (or Cham) hee reigned twelue yeeres, and died by the stroke of an Arrow which had wounded him in the knee at the assault of a castell. This Cangy was the first that perswaded the Tartars to be leue in one God.

To Cangy Cham succeeded Hoccata his son, who to know countries further of, sent ten thousand horse men to inuade the territorie of Cappadocia than possessed by the Turks by whome these Tartars were overthrown: with vvhich losse Hoccata being not a little moued, he sent againe thirtie thousand men, whom hee called Tamachi (that is to say conquerers) against whom, vpon the fronters of Cappadocia (which the Turks call Geneeli) came Guijatadin king of the said Turkes, (whom Sabellius duth name Goniat.) In whole army were two thousand christians (the remainder of the forces, that before came into Surie) conducted by two captains whereof the one vvas called John Liminad of the Island of Cypres, and the other Boniface du Chasteau a Geneuoys (Sabellius calleth this Boniface, Boniface du Molin vwho he saith vvas a Venetian,) but in that daies deed Guijatadin and his Turks vvere discomfited in the yeere of our Lord God 1239. about vwhich time also Hoccata died, leauing behind him three sons, the one named Cin (vvhom Paul the Venetian calleth Cui) and of others Guys & Guysean,) the second vvas called Iochy, & the third Baydo or Batho (as Michael of Michou saith.)

After Hoccata, his son Cin or Cui succeeded, vvhose
reigne

teigne not long continued.

Next to him, Mango or Mongu whom (Sabellius calleth Metho) couen to the faid Hoccata possessed the Empire of Tartaria. This is that Mango Cham, to whom Pope Innocent the fourth, of that name, did send Freec Ascelin, (one of the order of the Freers Preachers) in the yeere of our Lord God 1266. as Vincent the Historial and Michael a Michou doe report.

Iochy whom some doe call Iachis one of the sonnes of the sayde Hoccata tooke his way towards the West (being the countries of Turquesten and the Corasmens and part of the Region of Persia) euен vnto the riuier of Tygris which Hayton calleth Phison (but I beleue that Phison is that Riuier which is called Ganges) where Iochy remayned.

Baydo or Batho, the third sonne of Hoccato passed thorough Russie, Cumanie, or Comanie, and Molcouia and entred into Polone, Hungary, & Austruh burning and destroying the countries beforne him which afterward thorough famin he was enforced to abandon and so, to returne into Tartarie Comanie, which is beeyond the sea Maior, (called Pontus Euxinus) but at this day Zauolha and Zahady. Some doe affirme that this countrie of Comanie is that which Strabo calleth Cataonia part of Capadocia, at this day called Cricassj. The sayd Baydo was called by the Polonians, Bathy & Zaim Cham, of whom Tamberlane the great discended (as Michael a Mechou saith, who did write of these great destructions in these North Regions done by Baydo) which was in the yeere of our Lord God 1263.

To Iochy in the orient, succeeded his sonne (named

The Mahumetane

according to Hayton,) Barath, and (after *Paulus Venetus*)
Barachim.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1250. or there abouts at such time as king Lewes (otherwise called S. Lewes) the French king passed the seas: The king of Armenie being a christian (& named Hayton, perceiving that the Tartaires had conquered so many countries, and were entred into Natolie, purposed to enterteine amitie and league with the said Mango Cham or Mongu; Who (as before) succeeded to his cosin Gin or Cui, son to Hoccatia in the realme of Tartarie, onely to haue ayde against the Caliph of Baudraz and the Turkes of Damasco, Ha-lep, Haman & other places: for which he sent towards him the great Constable of Armenie named Sinebaud, but the yeere after, he went in person; where he obtained such fauor with the said Mango Cham, that the same Cham receiued the holy law of the christian faith & was baptizied by a Bishop being the chancellor of Armenie, with a brother also of his whom Hayton (being cozen Germain of the said king of Armenie) calleth Haullon, and Paul the Venetian Allau. This Allau was sent by his brother Mango Cham with the king of Armenie aforesaid, accompanied with a mightie armie to make war on the Turkes, who passed the riuier of Tygris and tooke the realme of Persia which remayned without gouernour sithens the Corasmians had inioyed the same.

After which hee inuaded and tooke the countrie of the Assassins (whom the Latins doe call Arsacides) of which people there is much mention made in the histories of the passage of the famous *Godefride de Boillon.*

For

or Turkish Historie.

16

For which cause it cannot be much from my purpose if I declare partly wher this countrie of the *Assassins* lieth, and what people they be. This territorie being no great countrie is situated at the foot of the mountain Libanus towards the Orient (as Brocard the Monke affirmeth) beyond Anteradus otherwise called Tortosa, and frontreth vpon Persia towrdes the North (which both the said Hayton & Paul the venetian doe call Mulete.) The Lord of this countrie was called Aloadin or Aladin which signifieth Diuine or of God.

The Histories of the sayde passage doe name it *le viel de la Montaigne* (as also do Hayton and Paul the Venetian, who were then liuing.) This territorie is, as it were a plaine, enuironed round about with mountaines, into the which, was but one onelic entrie & passage: vpon the which, Aladin aforesayde caused a great fortresse to be builded named Tigado. All the sayd plaine naturally is very fertile and pleasant to the eye, by reason of the faire medowes, brookes, woods & groues, wherwith the same doth plentifully abound. Besides which naturall contents, this Aladin had furnished the said plaine euery where with beautifull Gardins, vergers, rich palaces, and houses of pleasure, in most sumptuous wise that could be deuised; and therewith caused the same to be inhabited with the fayrest young men & women of the best faces that any where he could finde. For which purpose too he waged certaine soldiours, to awaite and watch the getting of such young men and beautifull women. Hayton saith that this Aladin cared for no manner of Religion. Paul the Venetian sayeth that hee was a Mahemetist.

F.ii.

When

When Aladin had thus surprised any young man, hee was brought to this castle of Tigado, and within a little time on some faire day when the sunne dyd shine verie clere, one shoulde come and bring this man (thus taken) a drinke, which woulde enforce him so strongly to sleepe; that he shoulde so remaine a very long space without any manner of mouing or feeling as though he were plainly dead. Then woulde he caute him to be borne into this vallie and so thorough his faire palaices and gardens among his beautifull women, and withall, to be clothed in rich apparell. So as, whan hee waked hee found himselfe an other man, & as though comde into a new world. In such his galantrie, hee was straight wayes enterteyned feasted with the Ladies there, and wonderfullie welcommed, with the shew of all manner of pastimes and trayned to all kinde of pleasures: which youth and lust could desire, and this so long as all that day would endure. At night after a certain banquet prepared, whervpon to repast, the like drinke as before, to make him sleepe, againe was giuen him. Thus being made to sleepe; his sumptuous apparel was taken of, & his former gariments put on, & so brough againe into the said fortresse from whence he went, and into such place as might be much vnlike to that which he had beene before. So as vpon his awaking, he shoulde soone perceiue himselfe in an obscure & euill smented old chamber cleane chaunged, from the place, where he could not but remember he had beene before. When Aladin vpon conference with him, would declare that the place where hee had beene was Paradice, and that it was in his power to send him therer whan hee woulde, if therefore the young man had minde to con-

continue such blessednesse for euer. it was graunted vpon condition that he woulde take courage and hardinesse to aduenture his life and to die for him in such seruice as vpon occasion hee woulde comwaund. To which numbers of young men for recouerie of that felicitie and Paradize whereof before they had tasted, would soone giue their consent, as not esteeming any aduenture dangerous whereby to atteigne that which hee most desired, when Aladin to make these men the more feruent to execute his desires woulde cause them sundrie times to bee had to these places of pleasure and to tast thereof as beefore: And thus serued this pestilent *viel de la Montaigne* for sending abroad his wicked Ministers to murder and kill Princes eu'en in their owne houses, who cared not of the losse of their owne liues in executing their dampnable purposes, so that they might atteigne their vain Paradize as they expected, before hand promised by Aladin. Of this pernicious band, were those *Assassins*, that had almost killed Richard King of England in his owne Paliō being in the holy land, one of which likewise murdered at *Sur*, *Conrade* the *Contee of Montferrat*; and an other that valiaunt *Contee of Tripoly* in his owne house, wherby I thinke the Italians doe call those to be *Assassins*. which we in our French tongue doe call Brigans, that is to say, spoylers and cut-throtes.

The saide Allau therefore besieged the same stronge fortresse of *Tigado*; wherc before he could get the same hee dyd lye there in siege the space of three yeeres. Hayton sayeth hee beesieged it by the space of seauen and twentie yeeres and in the ende for want and lacke of clothes to couer theyr bodyes (though they had

victualls ynough) the Soldiours defendaunts yeelded the castle which afterward was razzed and laide leuell with the earth: while the siege thus continued *Allau* returned into Persia, & king Hayton into Armenye.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1255. *Allau* with the king of Armenie returned and came against the Caliph of Baudraz, where they besieged him in Baudraz, which in the ende they tooke, with the Caliph also, and all his treasure, being of an inestimable value. Which treasure whan *Allau* had seene, he deamaunded of the Caliph, why hee dyd not therewith, leauie & wage soldiours for his owne defence, considering his so great meanes. Wherevnto the Caliph aunswered, that vnto that time, hee alwayes supposed, his owne subiects had beeene sufficient ynough to haue resisted any torreine enemy, which *Allau* vnderstanding, immediatly caused all that treasure to bee had into a tower and the Caliph there to bee set in the middest of the same treasure, prohibiting that any should giue him eyther meate or drinke, whereby hee miserably dyed thorough famin in the middle of his riches. And thus ended the Empire of the Caliphes of Baudraz which vnto that time had endured aboute sixe hunderd yeeres.

The yeere of our Lord 1260. *Allau* and the King of Armeny againe did assemble their armies in the plains of Roharz, to the ende to recouer the Citie of *Hierusalem* and the residue of the holy land. Who when they had taken the tower of Rohaiz, they remoued to Alep, which was rendered to them, the ninth day after the besieging thereof, though the castle of Alep held foorth vnto the eleventh day after that they besieged the Citie

of Damasco, which also was rendered where the Soul-dains of these two places, beeing taken prisoners, were sent into *Parsia* with theyr Wiues and Children.

The Prince of Antioche at that time was called Raymonde de Austriche, that married the daughter of the sayde King Hayton of Armenie, to whome were giuen backe all the landes and territories which the Turkes before had bereft him. And to the sayde king of Armenie was giuen the sayde towne of Alep and other places which were frontering and nigh to his dominions.

Howbeit, as *Allau* was nigh to Hyerusalem, there came intelligence that his brother *Mango* was dead: Whervppon *Allau*, purposing to depart into Tartarie, leaft in Sury with the king of Armenie, a nephew of his called *Guibogan* (named by *Sabellicus*, *Garbo-cao*, and by others *Guithboga*) with tenne thousand horsemen. And so *Allau* departed out of Sury towardes the towne of Almalech where *Mango* deceasst.

But there hee vnderstood, that the Tartaires had chosen to theyr King another of his brotheren named *Cobila*, (whome *Paul* the Venetian doth call *Cublay*) with which *Cublay*, the sayde *Paul* was verie familyar; by whome, the same *Paule* was sent into Fraunce vnto Pope *Clement* the fourth of that name in the yeere of our Lord God 1268. at such time as the French lost the Empire of Constantinople, and that *Carles de Aniou* brother of the king *saint Lewes*, was made king of Naples and Sicilie.

Guibogan pursuing his enterprise, conquered a great part of Surie, with the help of the king of Armenie. Howbeit he would not utterly drieue forth the Turks, but onely made them Tributaries. Whereby it came so to passe, that the Christians of Sydon could not there abide the Turkes to bee so nigh their neighbours, inuaded certaine villages of the Turkes, theyr neighbors being tributaries to the said Guibogan; and spoyled them and tooke prisoners of them, and draue away their cattell: Such as escaped, came to Guibogan to complaine. Who immediatly sent to the Christians at Sydon for redresse: Howbeit in stead of amedes, the Christians slew the messengers of Guibogan. Whereupon Guibogan gathered his power against Sydon, and in the ende hee ouerthrew the wall of Sydon, and the castle of Beaufort, and therwith also did set a side a great part of the amitie that beefore hee dyd beare to the Christians of Surye.

The Christians in Sury, being thus at dissention with Guibogan who also was a christian, and come vnto their aide: the Soulдан of Egipt named *Cathos*, and surnamed Melechmees, that is to say, a King of people, made wars vpon Guibogan, so that in a battell, Guibogan was ouerthrown and slaine, wherby the countrey of Surie remayned vnder the obedience of the said Melechmees sauing certaine townes which the christians kept still; in the yeere of our Lord 1274.

At which time the towne of Damasco was shamefully lost and beetrayed and sold by a *Sarazine* that had the same in garde, to Melechmees. Allau, this while being in Persia, and aduertised of this ouerthrovv of Guibo-

Guibogan and the victory of Melechmees, & thereof giuing intelligence to the kinges of Armenie, & Georigie, he raised a great army, that ioyning with the forces of these two kinges, he purposed to haue entred into Surie, to haue recouered that which there was lost, and being in readines to haue set forward, he was sodainely taken with sicknes, wherof within a whille after he died.

Abagan sonne of Allau succeeded his father & would not become a Christian, as his father was; but tooke vpon him the superstition of the sect of Mahumet, and made wars vpon his neighbours, whereby the power and might of the Soulдан of Egipt began merrailously to augment and increase, in somuch as Bendecadar otherwise called Bendecadar whont Hayton talleth Benodedar, and by himselfe named Melechdaer which signifieth the abundant or puissant king, being Soulдан of Egipt, did wiane the citie of Antioch vpon the christians, with sundry other townes, and after allied himselfe with the Tartars of Cimbie and Cappadocie, & after had uaded Armenie, during soch time as king Hayton the king of Armenie was iournied and gone to Abnike thencewards Cubili or Cublytham. The two sons of the king of Armenie, vpon such iurassions made by the Soulđan, encounred the Soulđan with a great armie, whiche consisted of swerde rhinfalid horsemen, & forme thousand footmen: howbeit the Soulđan ouerthrew them & did winne the field with the slaying of one of those sons of the king of Armenia, & the other solled captive into Egipt. Hayton hearing of this ouerthow hastedly returned into Armenie, & perceiving that he could not haue laide of Abagan to redresse his suuertie, he proceeded

gracious) these two, so worthely behaued themselves with their battails against the like number of Sarazines, that those Sarazines were vanquished and put to flight. The meane time, Mangodanior who had no manner of experience (as it seemed) in wars, without gloueing any manner of charge vpon the enemie, which towards him was readie to encounter against him, hee gaue himselfe shamefully to flie, & staid not a whit vntill he came to the riuer of Euphrates which they call Euphra, though hee was not pursued or chased at all by the third battell of the Sarazines, which consisted of those people called Beduins: who in the holy Scripture are named Madiani or Madianites, and to succour their companions that were ouerthrown and fled, followed their fellowes so fast as they could; but the next day, when kings Thyuon and Achmet vvere returned frō the chase to Hemes, & perceiving that Mangodanior vvas in such order departed, they followed him, and ouertooke him at the saide riuer; and instantly required him to returne, declaring to him howv they had vpon the battaile & put the Sarazines to flight, but for any thing they could say or aledge he vwould not returne but immediatly retired to vwards his brother into Persia, about the yeere of our Lord God 1282 Abagan beeing not a little displeased vwith the flight and cowardnesse of his brother, was purposed to haue gone in his owne person against the Soul-dain, howbeit he was enpoisoned by a Sarasin and died leuing behinde him two sonnes, the one named Argon and Ragait.

Tangodor neuerthelies succeeded to his brother Abagan being elected by Tartares to be their king, this Tangodor

godor was sometime a christian, and at the time of his baptisme hee was named Nicolas, but through his to-much keping companie with Sarazines, he became a Mahometist and was named Mahumet, he caused to be destroied & ouerthrown all the churches of the Christians within his dominions, and entered in amitie and league with Melechsayt Soultan of Egyp, wherfore one of his owne bretheren together with his said nephew Argon, accused him before Cobila Cham of the aforesaid crimes, wherevpon Cobila Cham sent him word and commaunded him to amend and redresse those injuries which he had done and from thence forth to liue in a better sort, or otherwise he would extremely punish him: but Tangodor, nothing amended with this aduertisement from Cobila Cham, in dispight, he caused his said brother to be apprehended, and to be put to death. Howbeit his nephew Argon, vpon this escaped from him, and fled to the mountaines, and after, with the aid and helpe of his friends and seruants of Abagan his saide father, he surprised and tooke Tangodor and caused him to bee sawen in sundre in the middle after that he had reigned three yeeres in the yeere of grace 1283.

Argon after that hee had put to death Tangodor his vnkle was elected king, but hee would neuer accept the name and title of Cham without the leaue of Cobila who perciuing the same gladly thereto did condiscend. This Argon was a christian and caused to bee re-edified & repaired the Churches which his vnkle wickedly before had destroyed. He was visited by the kings of Armenia and Georgia to whom hee promised hee would goe with them to recover the holy land, but the
G.iiij. manc

ded no fathur but fel to compōsition; with the Soul-dan Melechdaer, and rendred to him the towne of Alep with Sangolassar a nigh kinsman of the said Soul-dan for the recouerie of his said sonne, beeing prisoner as aforesaid, who vpon the same coachtions was accordingly redeliuered to his said fathur. King Hayton vpon the retурne of the same his sonne did crowne him king of Armenia, whose name was Thyuon; & after that Hayton entred into religion, and named himselfe Ma-earie, which signifieth blessed, whē he had reigned ouer the Armenians fortie & five yceres, & died soone afterg howbe it afon the dide he pacified king Abagan with his neighbours the yeere of Grace 1273.

After the death of king Hayton, Melechdaer that had conquered Antioche & Cilicia, purposing further to enter into Natolye where were sundrie gouernours & Captains of the Tartares beeing subiect to Abagan, among whom there was a Sarazin named Paruana, who had secret conference with y Soldan Melechdaer, wher of Abagan getting intelligence, raised a great army, and marched towards the Souldan, which the Souldan understanding, the Soldan would not abide him buested, & Abagan tolowed him into Egipt, so far as he could for the great heats of the country, whitch enbarred him to proceede any furthen, nevertheless in this chalke he overthrew moe than two thousand horsemen pertaining to the said Souldan; and after that he returned into Natolye, & tooke Paruana, & caused him to be sawn in sundre with a sawe after the manner that the Tartars doe vse, & so so be cutting gobbis & pieces, wher in þerþey being served at their table, they did eat them long as

as the same meat endured.

After that Abagan, had thus set in quietnesse the countrie of Natolie, hee offered to giue the same to King Thiuon of Armenia, but hee durst not receiue the same, through seare of the Souldan of Egipt, in excusing curteously himselfe & aledging that the realme of Armenia was big inough for him to gouerne, so that to haue greater dominions were but further troubles to him, & therfore most harteley he thanked him of his most gentle offer, which he was bounden to remembur vpon due occasion, vpon which refusall Abagan committed the gouernāce & regement of Natolye to sundrie of his owne Captains, among the which one named Othoman was one, from whom the Princes of the Turks, that presently reigne, are delcended.

Abagan returned into Persia, wher he staid a certaine time, and in the meane season he was stirred by the laid king Thiuon of Armenia to make war vpon the Soldan of Egipt, named Melechsayt (that is to say the king desired) who succeeded next to Melechdaer & molested the said king Thiuon: for which cause Abagan did send Mangodanior his brother with thirtie thousand horsemen ioyned with the army of the same King of Armenia, against the said Souldan Melechsayt, and came before the towne of Hames, where they found encamped the armie of the Sarazines, and therewpoh each side preparing to fight; they ordered their armie, and deuided them into three battelles, whereof the one was vnder the leading of Mangodanior, the second was guided by King Thiuon, and the third by a Captaine Tatarian named Abiech or Achmar, (which signifieth G.i.j. gracious

gracious) these two, so worthely behaued themselves with their battails against the like number of Sarazines, that those Sarazines were vanquished and put to flight. The meane time, Mangodanior who had no manner of experience (as it seemed) in wars, without giueing any manner of charge vpon the enemic, which towards him was readie to encounter against him, hee gaue himselfe shamefully to flie, & staied not a whit vntill he came to the riuier of Euphrates which they call Euphra, though hee was not pursued or chased at all by the third battell of the Sarazines, which consisted of those people called Beduins: who in the holy Scripture are named Madiani or Madianites, and to succour their companions that were ouerthrown and fled, followed their fellowes so fast as they could; but the next day, when king Thyuon and Achmet vvere returned frō the chase to Hemes, & perceiving that Mangodanior vvas in such order departed, they folloved him, and ouertooke him at the saide riuier; and instantly required him to returne, declaring to him howv they had vpon the battaile & put the Sarazines to flight, but for any thing they could say or aledge he vwould not returne but immediatly retired tovwards his brother into Persia, about the yeere of our Lord God 1282 Abagan beeing not a little displeased vwith the flight and cowardnesse of his brother, was purposed to haue gone in his owne person against the Soul-dain, howbeit he was enpoisoned by a Sarasin and died leuing behinde him two sonnes, the one named Argon and Ragait.

Tangodor neuerthikes succeeded to his brother Abagan being elected by Tartares to be their king, this Tangodor

godor was sometime a christian, and at the time of his baptisme hee was named Nicolas, but through his to-much keping companie with Sarazines, he became a Mahometist and was named Mahumet, he caused to be destroied & ouerthrown all the churches of the Christians within his dominions, and entered in amitie and league with Melechsayt Souldan of Egyp, wherfore one of his owne bretheren together with his said nephew Argon, accused him before Cobila Cham of the aforesaid crimes, wherevpon Cobila Cham sent him word and commaunded him to amend and redresse those injuries which he had done and from thence forth to liue in a better sort, or otherwise he would extremely punish him: but Tangodor, nothing amended with this aduertisement from Cobila Cham, in dispight, he caused his said brother to be apprehended, and to be put to death. Howbeit his nephew Argon, vpon this escaped from him, and fled to the mountaines, and after, with the aid and helpe of his friends and seruants of Abagan his saide father, he surprised and tooke Tangodor and caused him to bee sawen in sunder in the middle after that he had reigned three yeeres in the yeere of grace 1283.

Argon after that hee had put to death Tangodor his vnkle was elected king, but hee would never accept the name and title of Cham without the leue of Cobila who perciuing the same gladly thereto did condiscend. This Argon was a christian and caused to bee re-edified & repaired the Churches which his vnkle wickedly before had destroyed. He vvas visited by the kings of Armenia and Georgia to whom hee promised hee would goe with them to recouer the holy land, but the

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meane

meane time he died, as one that had not the leasure to performe that worthie promise, after that he had reigned three yecres, at such time as Melechnazer Souldan of Egipt florished.

After Argon, succeeded Ragayt his brother, called by Sabellicus Queghat, and by others, Tagadayt, a man most vnprofitable to rule without either faith or law, hated of his owne, and vterly abhorred of straungers, he had a son named Cassan Baydo or Bathy and according to Sabellicus called Bandon, and had a cosen also called Cassan which succeded him anno domino 1290. This said Cassan Baydo was a christian, and honoured the Churches of God, and prohibited that none should speake of Mahumet, which those that followed the sect, tooke it in meruailous euill part, and secretly aduertised the said Cassan or Assan which was sonne to the saide Argon that if hee would forsake the christian faith beeing also a christian, they would proclayme him king; vnto whom this Cassan, son to Argon accorded, & vnder this promise & hope Cassan son to Argon raised war against his cosen Baydo, which Baydo hearing gathered his power together & encoütreth Cassan; & ioyning in battell Baydo was shamefully taken by his owne subiects being Muhometists, that revolted to the part of Cassan, & so Baydo ther was slaine.

After the death of Baydo, Cassan was called king, but at the first, he durst not declare what was resting secretly in his mind against those who brought him to this dignity by the meanes abouesayde. Howbeit when he thought himselfe assured and confirmed in his regall authoritie, hee beegan first to shew himselfe a friend to christians, and

and then hee commaunded to bee put to death those who counsailed him to desie the christian faith.

And after he addressed an armie against the Souldan of Egipt & the Sarazins of the which his purpose Cassan aduertised the kings of Armenia & Georgie, who with their armies came & ioyned with him at B.iudras, and from thence marched to the towne of Hames which is situated in the midst of Sury, where the Souldan of Egipt called M.lechseraph who had chased the christians out of Sury came against them with a great army & encamped in a great medow, thereby supposing to haue surprized the christians, and albeit he found the christians partie in disorder, and so gaue charge vpon them, yet Cassan with the rest of the christians so manfully fought it out, that in the end the Souldan was there vanquished & put to flight: this battell was fought the seauenth day beeore Christmas day in the yeere of our Lord God 1300 At which battell the said Hayton (that was cosen to the king of Armenia) saith that he was present, & did put the heads & doings of the same in writing. Cassan pursuing his victorie marched vnto the towne of Casana, wher the Souldan had lodged a mighty deale of his treasure, insomuch as Cassan tooke the towne with all that treasure there, & meruailed greatly what the Souldan meanted that in going to the wars he would bring so much treasure with him, which treasure Cassan tooke, and deuided it among his souldours. After that he marched to the citie of Dainaço which was rendred to him, wher he found that Citie was no otherwise furnished but onely with victuall very plentifullly, wher the whole army of Cassan staid forty ffeue daies, lauing soreie thousand horsemen

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nder the leading of their Captaine Molay which pursued after the Souldan Hayton not a little meruayleth that in so little as this Cassan was, vvere resident so many vertues and valiaunt courage, though among thirtie thousand men, ther vvas not a worse shaped and deformed person then he vvas.

Cassan being at Damasco, he received intelligence that one of his Cofens named Baydo vvas entred into Persia vwith a great army, to inuade him. For which cause he returned into Persia to encounter Baydo, leauing behind him in Syria one called Molay vwith twentie thousand horsemen and at Damasco a Sarazins named Capehach to bee generall of the same, vwho sometime before vvas in meruailous fauour vwith the Souldan of Egyp & through certaine displeasures betwixt them revolte from the Souldan, and to obtaine his fauour againe this Capehach shamefully rendred to the Souldan the tovne of Dainasco, and other tovnes therevnto adioyning.

Molay thus perceiuing vhole Syria stirred vp into rebellion, he vwithdrew and retired himselfe into Mesopotamia, and after gaue intelligence to Cassan of the troubles of Syria, who purposed the next winter ensuing, to retorne into Syria becaule through the seruente heat of the sommer then present there was noe grasse or other feeding for horses, howbeeit the meane time Cassan sent an other Captaine named Cotuloz e otherwise called Caroloz with thirtie thousand horsemen giuing him also in charge, to aduertise immediately the king of Armenia, and other christian Princes nigh to him adioyning of the iourney, who vpon the intelligence

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gence, with their powers repaired and chiefly Thyuon king of Armenia, Emery of Lusignen king of Cypres, the maister of the hospitall of Sainct Johns Hierulalem, named brother Guillau de Villaret, and the Maister of the Templars, who all arrived by sea, at the towne of Sur, and from thence marched with their armie, to the towne of Tortosa aunciently called Anteradus: But the meane time Cassan fell sicke of a greeuous disease, that so as these wars for this time, proceeded no further, and euery of the saide princes with their powers returned home into their countries.

Two yeeres after Cassan determining to returne in to Surie, againe gaue intelligence of his purpose to the king of Armenia, & that he should meeete him at the riuer of Euphrates, where he and his armie should abide for him, which armie of his, was so great, that the same occupied the grounds of three daies iourny in length. And as Cassan entred into Sury the said Baido inuaded the kingdome of Persia againe, out of the which, before Cassan sundry times had chased him, & therefore Cassan made towards him, with so much expedition as hee could, leauing Cotuloz with the king of Armenia and forty thousand horsemen, to proceede in warres against the Souldan, who marched forward & toke the townes of Hames, and from thence went & besieged Damasco, where, Cotuloz and the king of Armenia had intelligence, how that the Souldan came to raze their siege: wherefore they leauing certayne bandes to continue their siege, with the rest of their army, they marched towards the Souldain, & finding him so strongly encamped in such a place where they could doe him small harme;

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harme, and that the Tartares through scarcity of fresh water, departed from them by troopes: Cotuloz and the king of Armenia retourned to their siege of Damasco, whereas in one night after, the waters about Damasco, began in such sort so dainely to grow, & that the Sarazines thereabouts brake in funder the Sluses; that in lesse space then an houre, all the places where the army of the Tartares and christians encamped, was drowned and ouerflowen with water, which through the sodaine comming of the flud, and the darknesse of the night, was the more dreadfull to the whole armie, as those that did not fore-see that water and inconuenience, whereby many of the Tartares there were drowned, as ignorant of the passages to escape, considering the dikes that environed the place of their encamping were both deepe and filled with the overflow of this water, so as a great number of the horses of the Tartares there likewise perished, and all their baggage likewise: so as they that escaped had none other minde but in hast to retourne home into their countrey: and the truth to say, they beeing thus furmoyled with waters, they were not good or meete to abide any fight.

Considering aswell their bowes as artowes (which are the chiefe weapons that they doe vse) were all to wet, and made vnprofitable thereby to serue: so as if the Sarazines that were very nigh them, had in this disorder given charge vpon the Tartars, they might haue had a figh good market on them: Howbeit, the Sarazines as it seemed durst not issue vp-

on them: so as the Tartares had leasure iouough to escape, who stayed not much vntill they came to the riuer of Euphrates which they passed according to their custome (for Michaell de Michou sayeth, that every of them that had a horse did packe and fasten his wife children and baggage vpon the horse, and than the husband would take the taile of the horse fast in his hand: and in swimming, the horse brought them all so to land, and thus, they vsed to passe riuers, were they never so great or broad.

The Armenians and Georgians that were in this army were enforced to retire, as the Tartares did, though a great number of them also perished & were drowned, and durst not abide, through the great doubt, they had of the Sarazines.

Hayton the Historiographer beeing an Armenian borne, saith, that hee himselfe among others was in this army, when this departure chaunced, and alledgedeth, that the whole fault of this disorder and departure was in Cotuloz, that would not bee aduised by the King of Armenia, but onely would follow his owne wilfull braine: But the King of Armenia marched on to the Citie of Niniue (which standeth on the riuer of Tygris,) called by Episcopius, Nicibis, vwhere most curteouslie hee vvas receued by king Calfan, and at his departure Calfan commaunded tenne thousand horsemen, paied at his owne charges, not onely to attend and conduct the King of Armenia, into Armenia: but there to abide at the kings appointment, to garde and defend the dominions of Armenia: vnto

such time, as hee the same Cassan could conueniently raise an other army to returne againe in person against the Souldain of Egipt, but (alas to the great infortuny of christendome) this valiant Cassan dyed soone after.

Some doe suppose that of him Sury, toke the name of Azamie, for that the Turks call Azam or Assam, As-samie: Howbeeit, it may bee, that this worde Azamie is deriuued from the auncient name of Aram, son of Sem, who were sons of Noe, of whom, the same country once was named, & by the Hebrux, Aram, y is to say high or excellent, which they would prouounce *Aramie*.

After this Cassan or Assan, succeeded Carbagan, whom some doe call Cerbagat, & the Frenchmen name Corbadan son of the sayd Cassan, who also was christened & at his baptisme was named Nicolas, & so remayned a good christia man during his mothers life, but after his mothers decease, he wickedly fell into the abominable sect of Mahumet, which all his successors after him, did neuer forsake, and at this daye doe maintaine the same.

Of the said Cassan or Assan are discended the kings of Persia, who in honour of this Cassan, haue taken vpon them the Surname of Cassan, vnto Vssun Cassan of whom otherwhere we haue made mencion.

But now, we name the princes of Persia, Sophies, for that Seichayder Sophi, maried the daughter of Vsun cassan, & begat vpon hir, Ismael Sophi, who reigned a little before our time, & was father to Taamar Sophi, who at this day reigneth in Persia. The Turks doe call Persia, Pharsie: and the Persians, Quezelbach: that is to say red heads, as before of them I haue spoken, which Persians

Persians and Turks, are perpetuall mortall enemies one against the other, & very different in opinion touching their superstitious law and beleife.

A little beefore, I haue made mention of the beginning of the Empire of the Caliphes of Baudraz, vnto their end. Likewise of the Miramamolins vnto their deuisions, and in such sort of the Persians so much as I could get knowledge of them. Of the Othmans I haue amply enough spoken before, so as I neede not further to entreat of them, least I should passe and exceede the measure of a Sunntarie or an abridgment: I haue written also of the beginning of the Empire in Egipt, & therfore now it behoueth me to shew how the same fell into the puissaunce and domination of the Mammaluchs.

In the ycere 1160. that Altmyer king of Hierusalem besieged the great city of Caire as before I haue spoken, the Souldain named Quare who as then was also called the Caliphe, perceiving that he was not able to resist the christians, haer required succours at the Souldain of Halep, who sent him a Captaine named Saracon or Syracon, and by some called, Syrasson, who (by his nation) was a Corasmin: this Syracon hauing in such sort giuen aide to the Caliph that his countries were defended from the enemie, and therewith perceyuing how vnmeet the Caliph was to rule through his cowardnesse & to much feare in him resident; & considering also how few friends he had to leane to him, in time of necessitie, he tooke the Caliph & put him in prison wher he died, and Saracon made himselfe Souldain of Egipt. Thus the Empire of the Sarazins or Arabians was transferred into the handes of the Corasmens or Medes.

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After Melechnazer, was Souldain, Melechseraph (which word signifieth the ardent or bright Prince) who did win vpon the christians the towne of Acre in Sury in the yeere of our Lord God 1293. and chased the christians out of all Sury, which he ioyned to the kingdome of Egipt: he was the first that caused to be coined in Egipt the Ducats of Golde, which are there called Seraphies. This Soldain is named by Sabellicus and others Melecastraphus.

Thus proceeded the said Mammeluchs, to dominate and rule in Egipt, and did choose their Souldains either vpon christians that became renies or that were christians children, bought as abouefaid, and educated in that forme of religion & trained so, to the warres as aboue is declared, albeit ther were none of these Mammeluchs that durst goe alone through the city wher they were, but by expresse commandement of their Emrys, who were their superiors, they should goe two at the least together, and to bee brise, these Mammeluchs had the authoritie and dominacion over all the people of Egipt & Surie, from the time they chased the christians out of Surie vntill that Selim the great Turke, as afore is mentioned, vterly ouethrew them & their game for euer.

Thus, the first of the law of Mahumet, that reigned in Asia, were the Arabians, whom the Hebreus and Suriens doe call Saba, and the Greeks, Sabei, & they them selues doe name Sarazins: after shich myther did the Turquittans or Turkes rule, who chased from thence the Sarazins: these Turks were Parthians, as Hayton doth frontier and limit them. The Turks likewise were driven

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froni thence by the Tartaries, beeing Scithians orientall, who haue taken vpon them also the name of the Turks though they be none in deed, and at this present reaigning vnder the name of the Turks, who of very truth are but Tartaires and Scithians by their discent, which, their maner of fight and weapon therewith that they vse, as their bowes made of horne, which our elders doe appoint and attribute to the Scithians, sufficiently doe witness. Againe the language Tartaresque, and the Turks speech, are not much different: for Michael de Michou saith that the Tartairs who destroied Russia, and the regions thereabouts named in their language Tartaresque, the tops of steeples of Churches there, Altum Bachne, considering those toppes of steeples were gilded: so in the Turks language this word Altum Bachne signifieth a head of gold or gilded. Wherefore according to the opinion of Authors, one may iudge that they are Scithians and Tartares to whom the name of the Turks are giuen at this day, whose elders, in that they possessed the countray of Turquestan; of that region, they haue left the name of Turks, to the Turks that presently reigne, beeing their posteritie, which to others perhaps is vnowne, being ignorant both of the difference of these two nations, so far of, and barbarous, and of the chaunges fortuned in their kingdomes.

Heere endeth the first booke.

I.

To

To the VVorshipfull his very good
Cosen William Carr of Stafford in the county
of Lincolne Esquire, and one in his Majesties
Commission of peace there.



Y R, to you who are the second possessor
of my heere expressed rich will, though
weake power: I commend this second
booke of my French and Italian traduc-
tions, concerning the succession of the
great house of Ottoman, and those their
fortunate armes whether in offence, or
defence taken; The rather for that your
selfe beeing resident in court where this argument (by reason
of the present Hungarian wars and the often assemblies of the
Germane Princes to prouide some remedy for their feared
harmes) is much spoken of, you may with others see the manner
and growing of this continuing and admired felicitie, (heere
by me deciphered) though the meaneas how, by very few is seen,
saue such onely as are true spectators and obseruers of high
reaching politice; what my paines hath effected in this point, I
freely give as you may boldly chalenge it for your due; who de-
sire nothing more then ever to be found the generall and per-
icular servant of your selfe and your most worthy brothers
true iointenants by undeuied moieties (as our lawiers terme
it) of mee and what I may, whereof the suruiuor whilst I sur-
uiue may dispose of the whole: And so with all dutie done which
may be demanded of a most affectionate kinsman and seruicea-
ble friend: I take my leave, from the middle Temple in London
this 20. of March 1600.

Your worshipps of all others
most at command
R. Carr,

The second Booke

28

Of the conquests made by the Turkes, and
the succession of the house of
Ottoman.



Supposed to haue ben acquited &
diilpatched from your earnest suits,
and fully to haue satifified your de-
maunds, to the best of my know-
ledge and power, touching the af-
faires and matters concerning the
Turks. Now you desire of me their
progresse, and continuances, as it
were from the father to the sonne, how they haue pro-
ceeded & attained vnto the conquests of so many regi-
ons, which at this day they posseſſe and keepe: Yet you
consider little the affaires, wherwith I am cōtinually oc-
cupied, nor the imbesilitie of my memorie, that so rede-
ly should write vnto you a Historie of matters that haue
passed two hundred yeeres & more in Countries, so far
of & sundry, full of vocables & names, both right strange
and different, from our vulgar language. Wherefore in
this request, if I satisfie you not in such good sort as your
desire, yet you ought to accept my paines in good part,
for be it well or euill, it bēehoueth mee to doe as you
will haue me.

In the yeere of our lord God one thousand & three hū-
dred, at such time, as the Emperour Henry, the seventh
of that name, purposed to renew in Italie the partialities
& diuisions of the Guelfes & Gibelins (at which time al-
so reigned in France Philip le Bel,) there were in Natolie
or Asia the lesse, certaine Captaينes of the Turks (wher-
this

I.ii.

Of the conquests and succession

this nacion had continued euer sithens the passage and famous iourney of Godefroy de Bologne, duke of Bouillon, and there had remained, cuer since the time that they presented themselves against the army of the christians, before the citie of Nice, which we may name *Victoire* anciently called *Antigonia*, vnder their valiant generall named *Solyman* or *Soleyman*. After which passed an hundred yeeres & more, that not any did speake of this Nation, vnto such time (as I haue said) there were in Anatolie sundry Captaines among the which, more famous than therest, were *Othman*, *Caraman*, and *Assan* or *Azam*, called by way of dignitie *Begy* or *Bey*, which is as much, as *Seigneur* or *Mounseur*, & in our English tongue *Lord*, howbeit the *Turks* doe abstract and withdraw from this word *Begy*, this letter *y*, and so doe call them *Othmanbeg*, *Caramanbeg*, & *Assambeg*. *Othmanbeg* (who was very valiant and a man of great activitie) allied himselfe with two *Greeks* *Roniez*, and a third being a *Turke* borne, the one of thele *Greeks* was called *Michali*, & the other *Marco*. Of the saide *Michali*, are discended the *Michaloglis* of whom, there continue some at this day, as likewise such of the lignage of *Marco*, who are named *Marcozoglis*; the *Turke* was named *Aramy*, of the race of whom, called *Auramogly*, none can be found, that any knoweth: the successors of this *Aramy*, are accounted and reputed to bee of the bloud royll of the *Turks*, and to them, the Empire of the *Turks* shold appertaine, if euer the *Othmans* line shold be extinguished. With the helpe & aid of these three, *Othmanbeg* aforesaid became of meruailous credit & puissance, in such sort as he conquered sundry cities & townes situated vpon the sea side of *La Mer*.

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of the house of Ottomans.

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Maiour otherwise called in latin *Pontus Euxinus*, & amōg them the towne of *Synas* which the *Greeks* call *Sebasie* was one, which is named by vs, in traunce *Auguste*. *Caraman* did draw himselfe towards *Cilicia*, where he rested, & called that region according to his owne name *Caramania*. *Assam* repaired into *Persia*, which the *Turks* do call *Pharsic*, as also into *Assiria* which according to his name, he caused to be called *Azamie*. These last two and their successors haue euer sithens beene vnmercifully persecuted by *Othman* and his posteritie: In such sort, as verterly they haue destroied *Caraman* his bloud, & gotten his countries. But *Assambeg* notwithstanding (which is called the *Sophi*) right valiantlie doth defend his owne, and liueth in continuall warres and enmetie with the *Othmans*. This *Othman* reigned twentie and eight yeeres vnto the beeginning of the reigne of *Phillippe de Valloys* the french King. Which *Othman* was so surnamed of a certaine towne or castle called *Othmanach* situated in *Anatoly* betwixt *Synope* and *Trebisond* the famous cities, and left a sonne named *Orcan*, who succeeded his father in his dominions.

Orcan the sonne of *Othman* maried the daughter of *Caramanbeg*, and after made cruell war vpon him, causing to bee put to deareb his eldest sonne brother to his wife, whom before hee had taken in battaile: he tooke also the citie of *Bursie*, which the auncients named *Prusias*. At this veray same time *Andronico Paleologo*, then Emperour of Constantinople dieng, did leaue his sonnes named *Caloriany* and *Andronico* vnder the gouernance & regiment of *John Catacusan*, who though hee very prudently behaued himselfe during the time of this his regimant,

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giment,

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giment, yet through the malice of the Patriarch, and of an other person of base conditions and birth (howbeit of meruailous credit after with the Emperour) *Catacusan* was expelled, who notwithstanding found the meane, after, to returne againe to Constantinople more strong than beefore, and for the more assurance of himselfe, he caused his daughter to bee giuen in mariage to the young Emperour *Caloiary*: howbeit they could not so long remaine in concorde, but that the Emperour secretly departed to the Isle of Tenedo, where an army of the *Geneuois* to the number of threescore Gallies came to succour him, who brought him backe to Constantinople and chased from thence *Catacusan*. Now he immediatly repaired for aide to the *Venetians*, through whose help retournung home assailed the army of the *Geneuois* riding with their Gallies in the *Canall of Constantinople* aunciently called *Propontis*: howbeit the victorie remained to the *Geneuois*, and the Citie with *Caloiary*, who in recompence of their worthy seruice, rewarded them and their Captaine named *Francis Cataluz*, with the gift of the Isle of *Methelin*, in times past named *Lesbos*: Who continued the possession thereof vnto the time that *Mahumet the second* did winne the same from *Nicolas Cataluz* the last Duke thereof: This little devision engendred after most cruell wars betwixt the *Geneuois* and the *Venetians*: which as it brought the Citie of *Venice* to such extreinety, that it seemed readie to render it selfe to the mercy of the *Geneuois*, so in the ende it was cause by the alteration of fortune that the *Geneuois* (beeing in sundry fights and conflicts on the seas after overthrownen by the *Venetians*

of the house of Ottoman.

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Venetians) came to miserable ruine and seruitude, for thereby they were enforced to yelde themselues, to the Archbishop of *Milane* whom they made gouernour of their Citie of *Geanes*, and to sell all their lands and Seigneuries to the communaltie and brotherhood of Saint George, which is within their Citie, and lastly to submit themselues to the french Kinges protection vnder whose subiectiōn they remained a while, vntill hee gave them to *John Duke of Calabre* sonne to *Reignard King of the realme of Naples*, vntill they reuolted to *Philippe Duke of Milane*, whom in the end they forsooke to, in such sorte as (through their inconstancie,) they did not know well, to what good Saint, to vow themselues: howbeit the greatest mischiefe was, that this forenamed warres gaue an vndoubted occasion to the vtter losse of *Suriē* & the realme of *Hierusalem* (& what was worse then that) the same opened to the Turks, the gate and entry to *Greece* and other parts of *Europe*, as heereafter I shall declare, all which was about the time that *Lewes de Baviere*, & *Frederic of Austrich* contended about the obtaining of the Empire of *Alemaign*. The laid *Orcan* reigned two & twenty yeres vnto the beginning of the reigne of *John the french king* which was in the yeere of our Lord God 1350. leauing behinde him his sonne *Amurath*.

Amurath (whom the *Hungarians* and the *Scalenes* doe call *Ammarat*, and the Turkes *Moratbeg* which is as much to say, as the Lord *Merit*, (but *Froissart* supposing to pronounce this name, as they doe, calleth him *Lamorabquin*,) entred to his dominions when as *Catacusan*, pursued the Emperour his sonne

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Despot: what in law, through the aide of Marc Carlouch the Despot of it meaneth.

Bulgaria: this word Despot is so much to say in our English tongue as Prince or Lord: and the Prouince of Bulgaria is that Country which anciellly was named *Geta* and *Cepida*. This Amurath was secretly fauored among certaine of the Nobility of Grecia, whom the Emperot Caloianus hated, who finding that hee was to weake, to encounter with the Nobilitie that reuolted, hee was constrained to demaund and require aide of Amurath, who forthwith sent him twelue thousand horsemen, through whose help, when the Emperour had pacified his affaires, hee gaue the Turks leauue to returne home: But they hauing scene & tasted the sweetnesse & beautie of the region of Grecia, after their returne perswaded (as it was easie to doe) Amurath to goe in person to invade Grecia. Which he so did, who accompanied with threescore thousand men, by the help of two great ships of the Genoiois (among whom he bestowed a threescore thousand ducats) Amurath passed the famous straits called by the ancients *Hellespontus* (and now the straits of *Calipoli* or the *Castells* by reason of two castells whereof the one is situated in *Asia*, and the other in *Europ*) wher in ancient time were also the townes of *Sestos* and *Abydos*. The french doe call these straits *Le Bras de Saint George*, Saint Georges armie, where the said Amurath wan the towne of *Calipoli* beeing on this side those straits in *Grecia*, & than tooke *Adrianople* and *Philippopolis* aunciently called *Olympias*. and so, ouerran the Prouince of *Romany*, in times past called *Thracia*, vnto the Mountaine *Rhodope*, which the Greekes doe name *Basilissa* the Queene and Lady of those Mountaines, which

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which some a so do call, the mountaine of Siluer by reason of the mines of siluer that are found in the same: and after ouercame in battaile the aforesaid Marc Carlouch taking prisoner the Conte Lazaro of Seruia, which is *Misnia Inferior*, (whom Frossart calleth *Le Comte de Lazarus*) whole head hee smote off, which was when Charles the fourth was letted from resiting the sonnes of the Emperour *Leyes of Bauer* to defend himselfe against *Frederic Marquiz of Misne* & the Countie of *Wittenberg* his competitor, leaving the Empire after him to his sonne *Lancelot*, who sold the Cities and Segneuries of Italy (as *Milan*) to the family of the viconts and others. In the ende Amurath was slaine by a seruant of the said Conte Lazaro as reuenging the death of his late Maister, the yeere of our Lord God 1373 after that hee had reigned 23 yeeres, about the beegining of the reigne of Charles the fift the french king, and left two sonnes *Paxat* and *Seleyman*.

Paxat or *Bifat* as the Turks doe name him, who neuer pronounce this letter *P*. (and called by Frossart *le Roy Basant*, sonne of *Lamoragus* and sometime *Amoragus*, according to his fathers name *Enguerran* & Master *Nicolaus Gales* that collected the *Annales of Fraunce* call him the king *Basant*). This *Paxat* was hardy, diligent and very couragious, he slew iij battailes *Marc Carlouch*, where with him the whole Nobilitie of Seruia and Bulgaria ended their liues, and after did ouerrun the territories of *Theffilia* and *Macedonia*, now called Thuniette and Albanie: He wasted whole Grecia vnto Athens which at this day is called Cethine and spoiled the territories o: *Bosna* (which is called *Misnia Superior*,) *Crocia* and *Sclauonic* (that are named aunciently *Dalvazia* and *Litburnie*).

K.

Of the conquests and succession

burnia) and this at that time when the Emperour Lancelot sonne of Charles the fourth liued so vertuouslie, that his subiects sundry times did enprison him, but in the end was deposed by the Allemans, who elected at one time two Emperours, the one called Iose Nephew to Lancelot, and the other Robert of Bauiere otherwise called Ruebrecht which is interpreted in their Alleman language Trouble Peace. But to returne to Bazait, who then inuaded Hungary, & there ouerthrew king Sigismond, (that afterward was Emperour of Alleman, called by the Historiographer Engerrant de Mountralet, Sagimont) in the renowned battaile of Nicopoli: the cause of the losse wherof was, for that the french men ther serving would not bee aduised by the king Sigismond, nor frame themselues according to the pollicie of these wars as the Allemans also counsaile them, the which Froissart imputeth likewise to the orgulie and pride of the french, where was taken prisoner the Conte of Neuers, John who afterward vvas Duke of Burgoign sonne of Philippe the first duke, Philip Dartois, Conte de Eue constable of Fraunce. John le Maingre called Bouicault and sundrie others beeing men of estimation to the number of seauen or eight, vwho all vvere sent to Bursie, the rest of that nacion vvere slayne to the number of a thousand horsemen.

This battaile was foughten on Michaelmas even Anno Domini 1396 and these prisoners, vvere aftre redeemed for no little ransome, in expedition vwhere of great dilligence vvas vsed by one James Hely a gentleman of Picardie, vwho also vwas taken prisoner among them,

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them, and beefore had serued in the Court of Amorabquin. Aftre this battaile, Bazait beesieg'd the Citie of Constantinople, and had wonne it, if it had not beene that into Natoly was entered the great Prince of Tartary called Tamerlaine or Tamburlaine, (but by the Turkes Demirling,) and by some French Historiographers (as Enquerrant) named Le Grant Tacon de Tartarye, but the Tartariens themselues doe call him Temircutlus, that is to say, the Fortunate Sward or luckie iron, descended of the race of one Cham of Tartarie called Zaym Cham, of the Horde or multitude of Zauolba and Czahaday, which is towardes the riuier of Rha or Volha, which falleth into the Sea Dabucuth, by the latins named Mare Caspium and Hircanum, which Zaym was he whom the Polonians doe call in their Histories Bathy, the first Mahumetist of all the Tartares. Tamerlaine, was afterward Lord of Tartarie Precopie, called by them Prezelzoph, situated betwixt the riuers of Tanais, which they call Don, and Baristhenes called Niper and Dereoz, the which countrey of Precopie was in auncient time called Scitbia Inferior, now in possession of the Turke. This Tamerlayne was for the most part resident in the great Citie of Samarcand, which is toward the sea Caspium, who caused himselfe to bee called the Scourge of God, though his verie title of his dignitie was Plucham, which is to say, the mightie Lord.

Bazait hauing intelligence of the entrie of Tamerlayne into Natoly, thought it requisit to raile his siege of Constantinople, and with all diligence, to encounter with the innumerable army of Tamerlayne, where nigh the city of Dangory, by our ancients called Ancira (nor

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far from the mountaine *Stella*, which Enguerrant de Montstrelet, doth call Appadi, where *Pompeius Magnus* ouerthrew the famous *Mithridates*,) the mighty armies encountered, and cruelly did fight, in which conflict Bazait was vanquished and taken prisoner, whom Tamerlaine caused to bee bound and made fast with chaines of gold, and so to be put in a cage as though hee had beeene a Lyon, in which sort hee carried Bazait about with him, through euery region of Asia as he passed, so long as Bazait liued, which was not aboue two yeeres after or thereabouts, who died Anno Domini 1400 after he had reigned twentie seauen yeeres, about the twentieth yeere of the reigne of Charles the sixth the french king. From this conflict escaped certaine of Bazaits sohys, who supposing to haue passed into Europe, chanced to fall into the hands of the Emperour of Constantinople who caused the seas surely to bee kept at that time. An other of his sonnes named Cyrus, and by the frenchmen *Quirici*, whom some also doe call Calapin or Calepin escaped ouer to Adrinopoli whose surname beeing called Ciris Cheleby was but a little of dignitie and Noblesse giuen to the children of the great Turk, as Achmat Cheleby, Mahumet Cheleby, or Mustapha Cheleby, which is as much as to denominate a gentleman, according as the Spaniards doe name their Nobilitie. Don Alonso or *Don Roarigo*, and the frenchmen *Charles Monsieur* or *Loys Monsieur*, being appropriate to their blood roiall. Cyrus reigned sixe yeeres or thereabouts, and left behind him a son named *Orcan*; when as his three bretheren named *Musach*, *Mahumet*, and *Mustapha* escaped out of Constantinople, while the Emperour was gone into Fraunce to the sayd king

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king Charles to require succours against the afornamed Cyrus, *Musach* flew *Orcan* his nephew, & for recompence himselfe was after slaine by his owne brother *Mahumet*: And than first began they to deuise how the one brother might kill another, which vnto this time, they haue right well practized and put in vre.

Mahumet the first of that name, after he had slaine his brother *Musach*, vsurped the Empire, and recouered all the whole Countries of *Natolie* which Tamerlayne before had wonne of Bazait. This *Mahumet* remoued his seat imperiall from the citie of Bursie in *Natolie*, to *Adrianopoli* in *Grecia*. He made wars vpon the region of *Valichie* (which some french histories doe call *Valaigne* and other *Blaquie*, and of the ancients named *Bessi* and *Triballi*). He also ouerthrew in battaile the Emperour *Sigismondi* in the plaines of *Selumbez* and was the first of his nation that pasled the riuier of *Donaw* or *Danuby*: hee subdued the countrie of *Bosnia* made war vpon *Caraman* and died the yeere of our Lord God 1418 and in the xxxviii yeere of the reigne of the said King Charles, after hee had reigned eightene yeeres reckoning therewith the ycares of Cyrus (which some doe not) and left a sonne called *Amurath*.

Amurath the second of that name was in *Natolie*, when his father died, whereof so soone as hee was aduertised, passed into Europe; albeicit the Emperour of Constantinople did what he could to stop his passage, who sent against him *Mustapha* his vncle, sonne of Bazait, whom the said Emperour had kept prisoner sithens the taking of Bazait, as before I haue tolde: howbeit *Mustapha* beeing to weake, was vanquished & slaine in K. iii.

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in battaile by Amurath, who to reuenge himself vpon the Emperor of Constantinople, spoiled and burnt the whole territory of Thracia in Grecia: and tooke from the Venetians the notable towne of *Thessalonica* called now *Salonichi*, which *Andronico Paleologo* before had told them in dispise of the Emperour *Constantine* his brother: after that, the said *Amurath* entred into *Serua* or *Rascia* & constrained *George Vuconich* the *Despot* or *Prince* of that country, to giue him in mariage his daughter named *Irinye*, surnamed *Catucusina*, notwithstanding which affinity hee afterward came against this *Despot* with an army, and enforced him to flie into *Hungary*, towards the Emperour *Albert sonne* in law to the late *Sigismond* the Emperour, leaving his sonne *George* for the defence of his said Countrie, this *George* was taken by *Amurath*, who caused his eies to bee put forth, though he was his brother in law. After the death of the said *Albert*, Lancelot brother to the king of Pole was chosen by the *Hungarians* for their King, albeit that *Albert* had left his wife with childe, who after the death of her husband was deliuered of a sonne, that at his Baptisme was also named Lancelot, who after was nourished and brought vp vnder the keeping of the Emperour *Frederic* the third of that name, and was the onely caule, that the said Lancelot of *Pole*, durst make no manner of enterprize against the *Turks* nor to invade them, least in the meane time the Emperour *Frederic* should haue annoied him vpon some other part, and so haue set the other *Lancelot* (the true king in his realme of *Hungary*). During this time, *Amurath* who could not long rest, besieged *Belgrado* (which they call *Nandoralba*, and *Alba*

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Alt. Greci, and by the Hungariens, Chrieschisch, but by our elders Taurinum,) situated betwixt the riuers of Danubia or Donav, and Sauus or Saua vpon a verie necke of lande, where those two riuers doe ioyne together, the which towne of Belgrado the said George Vuconich before had giuen in exchange for others to the said Emperour Sigismond for that it was the key and entrie to the kingdome of Hungarie: After which at the suit and perswasion of the same George Vuconich, the said king Lancelot raised a very great army against Amurath, and therewith recouered the territories of Serua and Rascia, which he rendred againe to the said Despot George Vuconich: to reuenge which wrong, Amurath leuied a great power, vnder the leading of one Carabey who encountring with the Christians, nigh the mountaine Costegnac (anciently called Hemus) was there ouerthrown, and Carabey taken prisoner. The which two victories, with sundrie others before and after, were obtained by the famous prowesse, and valiantnesse of Iohn Huniad called by Enguerrant de Monstrelet, and Philip de Comines, Le Blanc Chevalier de la Velaign, and by the Hungariens Janco Ban, or Vaiuod, that is to say, Prince of Transiluania at this present Moldavia, and by the Hungariens named Sibenbourg, that is to say, Septemcastrum, but by our elders Dacia. This worthy Iohn Huniad was father to the valiaunt Mathias king of Hungary, who not long agone reigned there. After this battaile there was an abstinence from armes conditioned betwixt the Hungariens and the Turks, for two yeres, by reason wherof, & with the priument of fifty thousand ducats of ransome, Carabey was deliuered: the which truwse beeing soone after broken by the said

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said king *Lancelot*, at the instance and perswasion of *Eugenius* the Pope, the fourth of that name, to king *Lancelot* was very infortunate, for afterward he was slaine in the battaile foughten betwixt him and *Amurath* nigh the towne of *Verna*, aunciently called *Iyonisopolis* vpon *Saint Martins day*, the eleauenth of *Neuember Anno Domini 1444* wher the said *John Huniud* was put to flight. Of this victory *Amurath* had small cause to rejoyce considering it cost him very deacre both in losse of his best friends, & choice souldiers: after this *Amurath* tooke the towne of *Sophie*, beeing the head towne of whole *Bulgaria*, *Scythia*, and *Nouomont*, and ouerran all the territories of *Acarnania* (called at this instant, *Ducat or Duche*) and the Province of *Cymera* (aunciently called *Epirus*) where hee spoiled and wasted alongst the riuier of *Achelous* (at this day named the riuier of *Pachicolan*) vnto the mountaines *Du Diable* (in times past called *Acroceraynii*) which are part of the Mountaines called *Pindus*. hee tooke also the famous port towne, named *Velone* (sometime called *Aulon*) and passed the Gulse of *Larta*, in latin called *Sinus Ambracius*, vnto the towne of *Oricus* (now named *Rigo*) and so went forward towards the Gulf of *Catara* (which is called *Sinus Risonicus*) beeing fife and twentie miles from the towne of *Ragusa*, (in ancient time named *Epidaurus*.) Hee enforced *John Castrioth* the Beyot of *Cymera* to giue him the empregnable towne of *Croia* with his three sonnes in hostage, and pledge o' fidelite, all which hee caused to become Turks: the yongest named *George Castrioth*, at that time not aboue nine yeeres of age, was called by the Turkes *Scanderbeg* that is to say *Alexander*, the great, who after, became

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became so valiant a Captaine, that for his worthie acts hee was comparable to the famous and most renowmed *Pyrrus*, and others his worthy predecessours, dominators and rulers of *Epirus*: for hauing commaund vnder *Amurath*, he conquered *Seruia*, and did bring to the *Turks* obeitance the Countrie of *Carmania*. howbeit afterward this *Scanderbeg* retourning to the christian faith, caused *Amurath* to loose the territorie of *Seruia*, and then tooke from him the strong towne of *Croia* with all the countries, townes, & castells that before belonged to his said father *John Castrioth*, besides that in twentie or thirty battels, wherein valiantly he fought with the *Turks*, he alwaies caried away with him the victorie, so as *Amurath* had neuer iuster matter to obiect to this *Scanderbeg*, then to reproch him with vnkindnes, that beeing so carefully brought vp by him, in his tender age, should so without cause reuolt, calling him by sondrie letters the ingrate & vnthankfull sonne: howbeit *Scanderbeg* cared so little for *Amurath*, that vpon occasion he departed from his owne Countries, to succour in person *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* against *John Duke of Calabre*, which *Ferdinand* hee restored to his realme, & expelled the Duke from the same: for which deede *Ferdinand* afterwards, curteouslie received the spoiled and calamitous children of *Scanderbeg* (whom *Mahomet the second*, after the death of their father exiled and bereft of all their liuelihoode) & gaue them lands in the kingdome of *Naples*, so as they became Marquizes of *Saint Angelo*, and of *Tripaldo*: so as a worthy gentleman of that race named *Ferdinand Castrioth Marquis of Saint Angelo* was slaine, valiantly fighting on the imperiall

periall part in the late battaile before Pavia. *Amurath* af-
ter that did winne the countrie of Moree (which in latyn
by our elders is called *Peloponessus*) through the discord
of two bretheren, the one called Thomas and the other
Demetrius, *Despots* of the same country, being brothers
of *Constantine Paleologo* last Emperour of *Constantinople*,
who by reason that the *Albanians* mowed warres against
them, sought for succours to *Amurath*, and became his
tributaries, but after denying to pay their promised tri-
bute, *Amurath* draue them out of their whole countrie
of Moree. Howbeit *Demetrius* afterwards retired himself
towardes the *Turke*, but *Thomas* repayred to *Rome*,
to the *Pope* where hee ended his life, leauing fourre
children, two sonnes and two daughters. *Amurath* bee-
ing now become aged, and wearie both of the world
and of his victories, withdrew himselfe among cer-
taine *Heremits* and other *Religieux*, of his superstitious
sect, pretending to leade the rest of his daies solitarilie
and in quietnesse: & established in his place his son, *Ma-
humet* being but yong of yeeres, to reigne and gouerne
his Kingdomes, appoynting for his gouernour one
Haly Bassa, called of some, *Caly Bassa*. Howbeit when the
famous *John Huniades*, with the *Hungarians* had gathe-
red togetheres a mightie army, to haue inuaded the do-
minions of this young *Mahumet*. *Amurath* (at the
great instaunce and suite both of his sonne as also of
the sayd *Haly Bassa* (that could not bee obeyed) was
enforced to take vpon him the administration and
gouvernment of the present affaires, who making head
against the saide *Hungarians* in the ende, vanquished
and put them to flight. After which *Amurath* inuaded
the

the dominions of the valiaunt *Scanderbeg*, beesieg'd
his strong towne of *Croia*, howbeit hee could not
winne the same. And in his retyring by the Moun-
taynes there, hee was spoyled by the *Paisaunts*, and
verie manie of his armie slaine, whereby *Amurath* en-
tered into such a meruaylous melancholie and displea-
sure, that what by disease therewith taken, and his
olde age togetheres hee dyed, in the yeere of our Lord
God 1451. of his age seauentie five, and of his
reigne thirtie two, and of the reigne of Charles, the
French king the seauenth of that name twentie sixe.
Thus *Amurath* was the first, that instituted the *Ianni-
saries*.

MAHUMET, the second of that name, called by
Enguerrand, and other french Historiographers *Mor-
besan*, perhaps they would haue said *Morbesalem*, which
is as much in the *Surien* or *Moresque* language, as these
woordes in the *Gospell*, *Vade in Pace*, depart in peace.
This woord *Morbesan* among the *Turkes* signifieth so
much as Duke or Duchie. This *Mahumet* was sonne
of the saide *Amurath*, and of *Iriny* a Christian wo-
man daughter to *George the Despot of Seruia*, who be-
ganne to reigne the one and twentie yeere of his age,
and two yeeres after did winne by assault the *Citiie of
Constantinople* Anno Domini 1453. where the Emperour
Constantine was slayne, by which it so came to passe,
that as one *Constantine* sonne to *Helen*, was the first Em-
perour of *Constantinople*: so an other *Constantine* sonne
of an other *Helen*, was the last Christian Emperour
there. This *Mahumet* proued in the ende, neither
Musulman or *Mahometist*, for in his infancye hee
L.ii. was

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was instructed in the christian faith, by his said mother, and after by others in the Turkish supersticion, howbeit, whan he came to age, he cared neither for the one nor other. In the beginning of his reigne, he caused two of his bretheren being but of very tender age (the one, of a veere and a halfe, the other not passing sixe moneths olde) to be slaine: howbeit some doe affirme that the elder sonne was secretly saued, an other childe beeing put in his roome, who was caried to *Venice*, and from thence to *Rome* to *Pope Calixt*, who caused him to bee baptised and named *Calixt Othman*, vpon whom the Emperour *Frederic* afterwards did bestow great liuings.

Mahumet hauing thus taken *Constantinople* as I haue declared, did inuade the dominions of *Hungary*, and besieged *Belgrado*, from which, hee vvas repulsed by the worthie *John Huniades*, that was then within *Belgrado*, with the *Cardinall Angelo*, and the famous gray Frier called *John Capistran*: From this siege Mahumet withdrew himselfe and his army with shame inough, for beesides his owne hurts & wounds, he lost wholy his artillerie & baggage, with his for euer hope to haue the realme of *Hungarie*: besides hee was compelled wholy to attend the recouerie of the dominion of *Moree*, which the *Venetians* had wonne from him, hauing repaired the *Examilo* (which is a long wall of the length of sixe Italian miles extending from the *Gulfe Patras*, which the latines doe call *Sinu Corinthiacus*, vnto the Bay of *Egino* named in latin *Sinus Megaricus*, betweene which two Gulfs, (as it were in the midst of the *Istmus*, not passing sixe miles broad, being a peece of ground comparable vnto a bridge syeng the dominion and territorie of *Peloponesus*, vnto the

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the maine land of *Grecia*) the Citie of *Corinthe* stood sometime of notable fame, but now reduced to a little village called *Coranto*) the which long vwall named the *Examilo*, Amurath in his life had caused to bee demolished and cast downe, to the end to haue the more easie passage into *Peloponesus*: but when *Mahumet* came, the *Venetians* hoping they had beene strong inough, in a battaile which they fought vvith him, vvere cleane ouerthroyven, vvhile a great number of Italian Captaines vvere slaine: so as *Mahumet* recouered the chiefe of the territory of *Peloponesus*, foorthvith againe after vvhich in the very sight of the *Venetians* hee did vwinne from them the vvhole lland of *Negropont* called also *Euboca*, ioyned to the firme & main land vwith a bridge, vvhile the llands of *Stralimene* anciently named *Lemnos*, and *Methelin* called *Leshos*, appertaining then to *Nicholas Cataluz a Geneuois*: and so prosecuting his good fortune hee tooke the Isle of *Saint Maura* (called *Nerytus*, and by some *Leucas*, & *Leucadia*) together vvhile the Isles of *Zante* (aunciently named *Zacynthus*) and *Cephallenia*, (called novv *Chiphalonie*:) Hee recouered the strong towne of *Croya*, after the death of *Scanderbeg*, spoiled the towne of *Scodra* called novv *Scutare* from Seigneur *Aranith Comino*, or *Comnenus* surnamed *Golent* father of Seigneur *Constantine*, vvhio then governed the Marquesdome of *Montferrato*, after the death of the Duchesse his niece, at vvhich time Charles the eight the French King retourned from *Naples*: after all this *Mahumet* inuaded the territorie of *Bosne*, and tooke the Despot thereof called *Stephan Hierchec*, and of some Historiographers the Duke *Latic*, and caused

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his head to bee knitten off, compelling a yong sonne of this Despot to be made a Renie, and to be circumcised, insurnaming him Achmuth. Hee tooke from the Geneuous, their towne of Capha (auncientlie called Theodosia) situated in Prezocorie, named by the Geographers Fanrica Chersonesus : which is as though it were halfe an Island; as is Peloponesus, and hath on the one side the Gulf of Nigropila (-called Sinus Canticus) & on the other, the Baye called La Mer Noir, named in latin Bitis Paulus, from which not very far distant is the famous Gulfe called Patis Meoris commonly named the Gulf de la Tana; during which time of these his expedicions & exploits in war in countries so farre distant the one from the other, hee was assalted in Natolie by Pyramet Caraman, who enforced him to relinquish his further enterprisles. Notwithstanding before his departure, he tooke the strong fortresse of Mancup or Manlzap, situated in the Isthmus or strait peece of ground which knitteth or ioyneth Prezocorie vnto the firme land called by the ancients Taphre, now Azan or Asson standing vpon the shore of the Gulf of Tres. That done, Mahumet retired into Natolie, and repulped from thence Caraman, invading the countries of the same Caraman, whereof he did win a great part: and in his returne tooke the citie of Sinopes, the Metropolis of Paphlagonia, which standeth vpon the coast of the sea called anciently Pontus Euxinus, & now La Mer Majour, as also vpon the same coast, the renowned citie of Trapezondi, being the chiese city of the Empire of Trapezonda, where he did put to death the Emperour therof called David Conino or Comnenus, who was a Christian, descended of the valiaunt Isaac Conino, who from a meane

Captaine

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Captaine became Emperour of Constantiople, after the Emperour Michael: all which troubles aboue laid came to passe, when as the Hungarians, and those of Austrich moued wars against the Emperour Frederic to recouer Ladislaus (whom some doe call Lancelot) the sonne of Albert, to be their king and lord, whom Frederic had in keeping, yet would not restore him, though he was adjudged meete to reigne: while Mahumet became thus victorious, there did spring a new enemie against him named Vssuncassan or Assambeg the prince of Persia, who with a great power of the Persians (whom the Turkes doe call Keseftbach, that is to say, red heads, by reason that they did weare red hoods) entered into Capadoce and Trebisonde, and fought two battailes with Mahumet, in the first of which Mahumet was ouerthrown, but in the second Assambeg had the worst, and therby lost sundry of his dominions. This Vssuncassan or Assambeg was sonne in law to the saide David Conyno Emperour of Trebisonde, of whom beefore I made mencion, who reigned in the yeere of our Lord God 1472. Mahumet thus delivered of his aduersarie, retourned into Caramany after the death of Pyramet Caraman, and enforced Abraham his sonne to seeke for succours from the Christians, and chiefelie of Pope Pius the second of that name, who was determined in person to haue gone against the Turke, and for that purpose was repayred to the Citie of Ancona, where hee had in readinesse a great army on the sea: but while hee stayed there for the Venetians that should haue accompanied him in the voyage, Pius dyed, without any further exploit done at that time.

Whereby,

his head to bee knitten off, compelling a yong sonne of this *Dessot* to be made a *Renie*, and to be circumfised, insurnaming him *Achmath*. Hee tooke from the *Genevois*, their towne of *Capha* (auncientlie called *Theodosia*) situated in *Prezocorie*, named by the *Geographers* *Taurica Chersonesus*: which is as though it were halfe an island; as is *Peloponesus*, and hath on the one side the *Gulf of Nigropila* (-called *Sinus Cercantes*) & on the other, the Baye called *La Mer Noir*, named in latin *Bris Paulis*, from which not very far distant is the famous *Gulfe* called *Partus Meotis* commonly named the *Gulf de la Tana*; during which time of these his expedicions & exploits in war in countries so farre distant the one from the other, hee was assalted in *Natolie* by *Pyramet Caraman*, who enforced him to relinquish his further enterprises. Notwithstanding before his departure, he tooke the strong fortresse of *Mincap* or *Manlzap*, situated in the *Isthmus* or strait piece of ground which knitteth or ioyneth *Prezocorie* vnto the firme land called by the ancients *Taphre*, now *Azan* or *Asson*, standing vpon the shore of the *Gulf of Tana*. That done, *Mahumet* retired into *Natolie*, and repulsed from thence *Caraman*, invading the countries of the same *Caraman*, whereof he did win a great part: and in his returne tooke the citie of *Sinopes*, the *Metropolis* of *Paphlagonia*, which standeth vpon the coast of the sea called anciently *Pentus Euxinus*, & now *La Mer Mairour*, as also vpon the same coast, the renowned citie of *Trapezondi*, being the chiese city of the Empire of *Trapezonda*, where he did put to death the Emperour therof called *David Corino* or *Comnenus*, who was a Christian, descended of the valiaunt *Isaac Conino*, who from a meane

Captaine

Captaine became Emperour of *Constantinople*, after the Emperour *Michaell*: all which troubles aboue said came to passe, when as the *Hungarians*, and those of *Austrich* moued wars against the Emperour *Frederic* to recouer *Ladislax* (whom some doe call *Lancelot*) the sonne of *Albert*, to be their king and lord, whom *Frederic* had in keeping, yet would not restore him, though he was adjudged meete to reigne: while *Mahumet* became thus victorious, there did spring a new enemie against him named *Vssuncassan* or *Assambeg* the prince of *Persia*, who with a great power of the *Persians* (whom the *Turkes* doe call *Keselbach*, that is to say, red heads, by reason that they did weare red hoods) entered into *Capadoce* and *Trapezonde*, and fought two battailes with *Mahumet*, in the first of which *Mahumet* was ouerthrowen, but in the second *Assambeg* had the worst, and therby lost sundry of his dominions. This *Vssuncassan* or *Assambeg* was sonne in law to the saide *Dauid Corino* Emperour of *Trebisonde*, of whom beefore I made mencion, who reigned in the yeere of our Lord God 1472. *Mahumet* thus deliuered of his aduersarie, retourned into *Caramany* after the death of *Pyramet Caraman*, and enforced *Abraham* his sonne to seeke for succours from the Christians, and chiefelie of *Pope Pius* the second of that name, who was determined in person to haue gone against the *Turke*, and for that purpose was repayred to the Citie of *Anconi*, where hee had in readinesse a great army on the sea: but while hee stayed there for the *Venetians* that shoulde haue accompanied him in the voyage, *Pius* dyed, without any further exploit done at that time.

Whereby,

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Whereby it so came to passe, that this army being scattered, and the *Allemans* and the *Hungarians* continuing still at warres, this unfortunate *Caraman* not able to resist *Mahumet*, was in the end miserablie slaine by him, and by this meane the race of *Caraman* was vitterly ouerthrown, and his dominions rested in the subiectiōn of the *Othmans*. *Mahumet* now assured and lase vpon this coast of *Cilicia*, lēnt *Omarbey*, the *Sangiac* of *Bosnia*, who was sonne of a *Genevois*, to pill and ouerrunne the countrie of *Istria* (called *Liburnia*) as likewise to spoile the territorie of *Carinthia* (commonly called *Crayn*) & so to furrow the land of *Stiria* (ancientely called *Valeria*, now at this day named *Steirmarck*) all which countries are comprehended vnder the name of *Illirium*. This *Omarbey* in executing his princes commandement, passed vnto the region of *Friuli*, (which in latin is called *Forum Iulii*,) trauesing mightie and great riuers, both by foords and bridges made on boates as occasion serued, and ouerthrew the armie of the *Venetians* that came to debar his passage, in which confiſt were slaine & taken a great company of notable good Captaines of *Italy*. Of another part *Mahumet* did lēnd *Achmath Bacha* (surnamed *Ghendich*, that is to say with a great Tooth, sonne of *Stephan* sometime *Despot* of *Bosnia*, of whom I dyd speake beforre) with a great army by ſea into *Italy* who tooke the towne of *Otranto* (called in latin *Hydryneus* and of the auncients *Lipigium*) ſituated in the territorie of *Apulia* in *Italie*: a little beforre which *Mefith Bacha Paleologo*, diſcended of the race of the Emperour of *Constantinople*, did beeſiege the famous citie of the *Rhodes*, with a nightic army, from which hee was repulſed by the

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the Christians that valiantly defended the ſame. Now *Mahumet* not contented thus with these three Armies, in person went againſt the *Soldain* of *Egipt*, but being arriued nigh vnto *Nicomedia* (a Citie of *Bithynia* in *Natoly*, which Citie at this day is called *Comidy*, and of the Turks *Nichor*, *Mahumet* died in the yeere of our Lord God 1442 of his age 54. And of his reigne 31. About the ende of *Loys* the eleuenth, and the beginning of the reigne of *Charles* the eight the *French* king. This *Mahumet* was called by the *Turks*, *Mahumet Boiuc*, that is to say *Mahumet* the great, who left beehinde him, two ſonnes the one called *Pazait*, and the other *Zizimy*, which is to say loue, for *Mustapha* his eldest ſonne, who was Gouernour of *Icony* called *Iconium* in Latin, dyed ſoone after the ſecond battell fought as aboue ſaide againſt *Vſuapſſan*, in which battell *Mustapha* had very valiantly behaued himſelfe.

Pazait otherwise called *Bazait* the ſecond of that name, and the yongest as was ſuppoſed of his three Bretheren (thorough the aide and fauour of the *Ianizares* of whom their *Laga* or *Captaine* was his ſonne in law,) ſeized and atteigned the Empire. And *Zizimy* his brother, was planted in the Citie of *Burfie* wherewith and the do-minions of the ſame hee could haue very well contented himſelfe. But *Bazait* would not let him reſt ſo nigh, for which with the armie that was put in redineſſe by his father to haue gone againſt the *Soldain* of *Egipt* he draue his brother *Zizimy* out of *Burfie*. So as *Zizimy* for ſuccour, was enforced to repaire to the *Soldain* of whom he was aided both with men and money, yet neuertheleſſe, after he had fought two battells and lost them both, hee was in the ende ytterly put to flight by *Achmat Ghendich Bacha*,

M

and

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and not knowing how to recover himselfe, retired into the Isle of Rhodes to require succors of vs Christians, being then of the age of eight and twentie yeeres. Whereof *Bazait* beeing aduertised sent great gifts and presents to the great maister and counsaile of the Rhodes, beeseeching them to keepe well his brother *Zizimy* and for the maintenaunce of his estate and entertainment, he would cause yeerely to bee payde to them the summe of fortie thousand Ducats, as also during the time of his keeping he would make no manner of inuasion vpon the Christians. For which this *Zizimy*, for saftie, and to keepe *Bazait* in continuall feare and subiectiōn was sent, into the realme of *Fraunce* where hee continued very long in a house of the order of the Rhodes, called *Bourgeneuf*, but after hee was giuen to *P. P. Innocent* the eight of that name, and had to *Rome* where hee was resident, whan *Charles* the eight inuaded the Realme of *Naples*, who needes would haue *Zizimy* away with him, hopeing by his meanes to recover the Empire of *Constantinople* but the *P. P. Alexander* the sixt of that name (perceiuing hee must depart with *Zizimy* whither hee would or no) enpoysened him in such sort (as was said) that after such his delyuerie hee dyed within three dayes at *Tarracine*. *Bazait* thus dispatched of his brother; beeganne to inuade the Countries of *Tranſyluania* and tooke *Moncastro* standing on the Riuere of *Neper* called in *Lattin Boristhe-*
nes, with the towne of *Lithostomo* at the mouth of the riuere of *Danubye*. After which, he caused to be put to death, his famous Generall *Achmat Ghendich Bacha*, comparable in valour to any excellent man of warre of his time. He was sonne to *Stephan* sometime *Despot* of *Bosnia* as bee-
fore I declared. This being done, to pursue the entent
and

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and purpose of his father *Mahumet* against the *Soldain* of *Egipt* and partly to reuenge himselfe vpon the same *Soldain* for mayntaining of his brother *Zizimy* against him, hee sent a mightie armie into *Sury*. Of the which the *Mammaluchs* getting intelligence, assembled themselues at *Antioche*, marching towardies the *Turkes* whome they found encamped vnder the mountaine *Amanus* (now called *Monte Negro*) wher they couragiously encountered their enemyes betwixt the same mountain and the *Golfe* of *Layasse* (which is called in *Latin Sinus Iſicus*. Where sometime also *Alexander* the great, discomfited king *Darius*) ouerthrew the *Turkes* armie, and tooke prisoner the Generall of the same, called *Cherseogli* sonne in law of *Bazait* whom they brought to the *Soldain* than being at his great Citie of *Cair* (which the *Turkes* called *Mitzir*.) But seeing I am thus chaunced to make mencion of these *Mammaluchs* I shall not much digresse from my matter, if first I shew you what these *Mammaluchs* are.

This woord *Mammaluch* in the *Suriennē* tongue, (bee-
ing the common language vsed in *Africk* which wee call
Moresque and the most enlarged and extended vulgare
speech that at this day is vsed in the world,) betokeneth
or signifieth a seruiteur or soldior. This *Soldain* and the
Mammeluchs were of one manner of Religion, and liued
without marriage, as those that are of the order of the
Rhodes & the kniglits of *Malta doe*, who aboue their other
apparrell, vsed to weare a gowne of white *Bcasin* bright
& artificially made to shine. And as the great *Turk* hath
fourre *Vifir Bacha* exceeding the others in dignitie: So
hath the *Soldain* fourre *Emir Quibir* surmounting the rest *Emir Quibi*
in honour next vnto the *Soldain*.

M.ii.

For

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For this word *Emir* betokēneth an Admerall and *Quibir* signifieth great. So as this woord *Emir Quibir*, is as much to say a great Admerall. Besides, they had in their society a great constable called in their tongue *Derdard Quibir*, whom *Paulus Iouius* calleth the great *Diadaro*. The *Soldain* being but a *Mammaluch* is chosen to that dignitie by the rest of the brothers, as they doe elect the great Master of the *Rhodes*, and most often hee is of one of their *Emirs*. Who being thus elected to be *Soldain* giueth to euery of the other *Mammaluchs* by way of reward a hundred Duckets for his welcome. All which *Mammaluchs* were Christians Renies, or sonnes of Christians as are the *Ianizaries*; (who in no case would receiuie any *Turke Moore* or *Jewe* to be of their societie) being all *Liueros* for so the *Turkes* doe name them. This *Liueros* were aunciently named *Hiberi* and *Circassi* (whom they call *Cercaz*,) among whom the *Colchi*, *Georgii*, *Albani*, and others Christians who were *Iacobits* and *Nestorians*, remaining about the riuier of *Phaso* otherwise called *Phasis*) were accounted. This *Circassi* beeing young whan the *Tartarians* dyd surprise and take them, were carryed by troopes and solde to the saide *Emirs*, with whom they were brought vp in the exercise of armes but chiefly on horsback, who beecoming very valyaunt, were made *Mammaluchs* obseruing the *Mahumeticall* law. This order of the *Mammaluchs* beganne at such time as the king saint *Lois* was taken prisoner before *Damyate* (which some cal *Heliopolis*) among whom the first *Soldain* was named *Melechalem* whom they dyd kill and was the cause that the sayd saint *Loys* was the more easily deliuered. But to retorne to *Bazait*, this ouerthrow that the *Turkes* thus received

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ceiuied nigh to the Golfe of *Layasse* by the *Mammaluchs*, was the greatest calamitie that euer came to the *Turkes*, whereof *Bazait* hauing received intelligence, and perceiving that his affaires had small good successe on that side, retired his force into *Sclauonye*, and there tooke the towne of *Durazo* (aunciently called *Dirrachium*) and *Epidamnus* perteigning to the familie of the *Carlouichs* who affirmed theinselues to haue descended out of the house of the kings of *Fraunce*. That is to say from *Charles of Durazo* furnamed *de le Faix* sonne of *Peter Duke of Grauyn* sonne of *Charles* second king of *Naples*, and of *Hungary* in the right of his wife. The which *Charles* was sonne of *Charles D'aniou* king of *Naples* brother to the said king saint *Loys*.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1493. *Bazait* sent eight thousand horsemen vnder the leading of *Cadum Bacha* to ouer runne the Countries lying betweene *Hungarie* and *Sclauonye*, against whom certaine of the Nobility of *Hungary* *Croace* and *Sclauony* dyd assemble theinselues and encountered the *Turkes* nigh vnto the Riuier of *Moraua* (auncientlie called *Moschus*) where the Christians were ouerthrownen. Fiue yeeres after, *Haly Bacha* the *Albaneze* and *Enuch* with a great armie by sea made towardes the towne of *Jara* or *Jadera* situated on the shore of the *Golfe of Venice* in the coast of *Sclauony*. And albeit that the forces of the *Venetians* (which was very mightie on the sea,) pursued the *Turkes* yet durst they not charge thē, which *Haly Bacha* perceiving, tooke at their noses the towne of *Lepantho*, aunciently called *Naupactum*.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1500. *Bazait* came in person to *Modon*, that sometime was called *Methones*, in M.ii.

Morree

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Moree and tooke the same. And after, when Lewes the twelfth, the French King ioyned in aliaunce with the *Venetians* against *Ludovic Sforza*, the vsuperper of the Duchie of *Milayn*, *Buz.uit* at the request of *Sforza*, caused tenne thousand horsemen to inuade the territorie of *Friol*, insomuch as they approched euen to the towne of *Triuiso* in the view of the Citie of *Venice*. For which the *Venetians* prepared immediatly a great armie on the sea against the *Turkes*, with whom the Gallies of *Fraunce* vnder the charge of *Seigneur Rauestaign*, as also the Gallies of the king of *Aragon* vnder the leding of the famous *Don Ferrando Consalvo* ioyned, with which armie they dyd win from the *Turks* the *Ilands* of *Cephalonia*, and *Saint Mauro*. But (vpon certaine conclusions of peace traicted by the meanes of *Messire Andreus Gritti* (who afterwardes was Duke of *Venice*) betwixt the *Venetians* & the *Turkes*) were againe surrendered, yet the Gallies of *Fraunce*, passed forwardes to the *Isle* of *Lesbos*, (otherwise called *Metheline*) hopeing to have subdued the same, but not able to bring their enterprise to passe, they returned home againe. About this time beeganne the fame and renowne of *Seich Ismael* the king of *Persia*, by surname called the *Sophie* according to the name of his father, who was sonne to the Daughter of *Vfuncassan*, and of one *Seich Ayder* (that is to say the good *Religioox*) for he was reputed among the *Persians* to bee a very good and holy man, and a Prophet called *Sophi*, of that sect new begunne among the *Mahometists*, which they call *Sophi* or *Sophilar*, of the which I dyd speake beefore, according to the which hee lyued.

Some holde opinion that hee was called *Sophi* of the

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the Countrey of *Sophena* which was vnder his dominion. But neyther the *Turkes* nor yet the *Persians* know what Countrey *Sophena* is: The sayde *Seich Ayder* after the death of *Vfuncassan* was shamefully slayne by the commandement of *Jacopbeg* his brother in law, doubting that the people of *Persia* (who meruailously were affected towardes *Seich*) would haue deposed the sayd *Jacopbeg* and made *Seich* to haue beene theyr King.

For which *Seich Ismaell* hearing of his fathers death beeing than not passing eyght yeeres of age, fledde to the towne of *Leziam* situated vpon the Sea of *Abacuth* (commonly called *Caspium*,) where hee remayned vntill hee came to mans age, and than returned into *Persia*, where finding meanes to assemble but three hundered men thorough theyr help hee tooke the towne of *Sumach*, and after, increasing his number, hee wanne the Citie of *Taurys* in *Armeny* with the towne of *Syras*, where the good Armours are made.

Hee afterwardes vanquished and slew in fight *Aluant* sonne of *Jacopbeg* who made him-selfe King after the death of his father, who was sonne to *Vfuncassan* (Vnkle to the sayde *Ismaell*) and entered in league with the Prince *Aladulad* or *Anaudule* and the *Soldain* of *Egypt* by whome hee was drawne to moaque warre against *Bazait*, against whom he obtained sundry victories. About this time *Selym*, the youngest sonne of *Bazait*, departed from *Trebiseonde* whereot he was gouernour, and without the knowledge of his father, married with the daughter of the *Cham* of *Tartarie Prezeccorie*.

Through

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Thorough whose aide and a great number of Horse-men, which his brother in law (called of the *Turkes Chamogly* or *Canogly*:) brought to accompany him, (hauing already gained the hearts of his fathers *Iannizaries*.) Hee enforced *Bazait* his father to leaue to him his Empire. Which *Bizait*, purposing to draw himselfe to the cost of the sea *Maior* otherwise named *Pontus Euxinus* and there to leade the residue of his yeeres in quietnesse, dyed in his going thither, empoysonned as was iudged by his sonne *Selym*, in that they did drinke together at their departure. *Bizait* reigned thirtie yeeres, lyued threescore and three yeares, dyed in the yeere of our Lord God, one thousand ffe hundred & twelve. And in the fourteenth of the reigne of *Lewes* the twelfth, the *French* king, leuing behinde him *Selym*, *Achmat*, and *Corckuth*.

Selym, thus hauing attained to the Empire, through the meanes aboue declared, endeuored himselfe aboue all things to dispatch himselfe from the feare of his bretheren. For which first hee caused *Corckuth* his brother to bee put to death, who before had fled to the sea cost ouer against the *Island* of the *Rhodes* and there had hidden himselfe vntill hee might haue gotten shipping to haue past vnto the great Maister, but being shainefully discouered by one of his owne men, in the ende was strangleled with a bow string. *Achmat* his brother dyed by lyke death, being taken in battell, accompanied with an able armie which hee had gotten together thorough the ayde of *Siach Ismael*, and of *Campson Ciauri Soldain* of *Egipt*. Yet through his fatnesse and vnweldinessse of body whereby hee was not able to abide labour on horseback and so to flye, was taken & put to death. *Selym*, being thus deliuered from

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from his father & bretheren, deliberated to inuade the *Sophy*, aswell for the auncient enmitie that was betwixt them, as to reuenge himselfe of this new iniury, for ayding his brother *Achmat*, to make wars against him. Howbeit, that the more easely he might bring his purpose about, he found meanes first to make peace with *Lancelot* the king of *Hungary*, & than for his greater suertie, renewed the alliance & league that he had with the *Venetias*: after which he set forward towards the *Persis*, whome the *Sophy* met, accompanied with a great nûber of men at Armes, nigh to *Assiria*, wher these great Princes with their Armies fought a wonderful sore battell, in vwhich the *Sophy* through the *Turks* Artillery had the worst, & was put to flight: for somuch as the *Persian* horses vvere never frequented to the noise & thundring of artillery, which they could not abide to heare. This battell vvas fought in the plain of *Calderan*, betwixt the citie of *Tauris*, and *Coy*: which citie of *Coy* sometime hath bene called *Artaxata*. The maner of this battel is painted in the counsail chamber at *Venice*, vwhich ther I haue seene, & is reported that *Selym* caused so to be done, & sent to *Venice*, to the *Senat* ther. After vwhich conflict the citie of *Tauris* came into the hands of the *Turks*, vwith a great part of the Realme of *Persia*: Howbeit, the *Turks* had no long possession of the same: For *Siach Ismael* recouered al that he had lost, right soone after. In such sort as *Thomas* the sonne of the said *Ismael* holdeth the same at this day. *Selym* now retourninge out of *Persia* came to *Trebizonda*, where he taried all the winter, but the sommer next ensuing he inuaded the prince *Aladolu*, otherwize called *Anardule*, (vwho frontered vpon the *Soldain*.

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of

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of Egyp, towards a Towne of his called Alep, by the french men named Halappe, by the Turks Adelphe, & by our ancients Epiphania, supposed to be called Aleph, because it is the first Towne which that vway leadeth into Sury). Vpon an other coast, he bordereth on the Turks, toward the prouince of Icony, & vnto Armenia the lesse pertaining to the Persians. All this country of Anadule, vvas subdued by Selym, Anadule himselfe taken, and his head smitten off, by commaund. There rested now no mo in the contrary of Selym, but onely the Soldain of Egyp, vwho vwith a great Armie vvas come against Caythy, the Emry of Alep, vwho being subiect to the Soldain, had revolted against him. The armie of the Soldain was supposed to be about eight & twentie thousand Horsemen, the most part of vwhich consisted of the order of the Mameluchs, vwho little esteemed the Turks, considering that heretofore they had encountred them in other vvars, & giuen them the ouerthrow, as before is declared. But Selym politickly feigning as though he purposed to inuade the Sophy, vwhereof he made a bruit to runne: vvhian he vvas come nigh vnto the Towne of Amman, (called by our ancients Apamea, situated betwixe Alep and Damas,) vwas instantly required & prayed by the sayd Caithby, to giue him succours and ayde against the Soldain: Wherunto, Selym accorded right soone, as he, that found vwhat he desired, and a redy occasion, for vwhich he had long looked. Yet vwould he not vitter his thoughts therein, least the two armies of the prince and subiect, being ready in the feeld to fight, and perceiving his purpose, (vwho in taking part sought so to overthrow them both) should accord together against him.

Wher-

of the house of Ottoman.

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Wherfore immediately he raigned with the Emir Caith by, bidding defiance to the Souldain Campson Ciauri, with whom he fought in set field, vwhere the Souldain vvas slaine, and Caithby also as some doe say,) vtherby Selym remained Lord ouer all Siria, Damas, Hierusalem, & Iudea. The Mameluchs vwho sauied themselves in that battaile, returned into Egyp, vvhile vwith the others there, they chose an other Souldain named Tomombey, vwho before, vvas Emry of Alexandria, hovbeit Selym hotly followving his fortune and victories, entered into Egyp, vanquished Tomombey in an other battaile, tooke the great citie of Caire, (vvhich of some, vrongfully is called Carra) & named of other by more aparant reason Memphis,) vwhere vwhilst Tomombey vwould haue sauied himselfe on the other side of the riuier Nyle, he vvas pursued by Canogly, vwho passed the riuier by ships, vwith ten thousand Horsemen, (the bridge that vvas made on boats ouer the same, being cloyed vwith Janizaries, so as he vvas not able to passe that vway,) by which Canogly Tomombey, being taken and brought back to Selym, caused him straight to be strangled, vwhereby the said Selym remained King of Egyp, Anno Domini. 1518. These victories thus attained, Selym returned to Constantinople, and purposing to remoue to the Citie of Adrianiopole, died in his iournyeng, at a village called Chiorlich: vvhile before vwith his Tartarians, he did fight vwith his father Bazait, and vvas ouerthrown. Thus he died in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand fife hundred and twentith, of his reigne the eighteenth yeere, of his age the sixe & forty yeere: and of the reigne of the right Christian king Francis the French King, the eight yeere After N.j. that

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that he had put to death three of his most worthy Bachas, Chenden Bacha, because he would haue mutined his Iannissaires, entring into Persia. Bostangi, otherwise called Constantin Bacha his sonne in law, for sundry exactions and spoiles that he had committed: & Janus Bacha, wher of none could tell the cause, sauing that Selym thought him to be high minded. This Selym left but one sonne named Solyman, called by the Turks, Selyman: whom he recommended to the custody of Peribacha, who before had gouerned him in his youth.

SOLYMAN came to his reigne the xxvij. yeere of his age, who the yeere next ensuing by the coulail of Peribacha, besieged Belgrado, & did win it from king Lewes of Hungary (the son of Lancelot.) who at that time was very young, hauing the Princes & Lords of his Countrie at discord among them selues, about the Regimēt of their King and of his Realme: Whereby it came to passe that no maner of Order was foreseen, either for the defence or succoring of that famous Place.

The next yeere after, hee bee sieged the Rhodes, espyng alwayes after the custome of his elders, the discords & diuisions among Christian Princes, the which enterprize was cleerely against the minde and counsail of Peribacha, who accompted that Iourney very doubtfull and of no litle aduenture: Howbeit the same succeeded too well with him, as he desired.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1527. whan Italy was in wars & troubles, Solyman entred into Hungary in fauour, as he said, of John de Ziphs, the Vayuod of Sibenbourg, who pretended that the kingdome of Hungarie dyd to him only

of the house of Ottoman.

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onely of right appertaine: wher it came to passe, that the young King Lewes, comming in person to the fight, was slaine: after which, the said John attaining the kingdome, dyed, leauing a yong son, an Infant, behinde him, vnder protection of Solyman, with his Kingdome likewise.

The same Selyman in the yeare 1535. going in expedicion against Thomas king of the Persians toke from him the whole country of Mesopotamia, vwith the citie of Eribalon, and in 1538 continuing at Aulona hee gaue an attempt to the vwinning of the Isle of Corcyra. 1540 hee both besieged and tooke the strong fortres called Castell Nono in Dalmatia. In the yeere 1541 John de Ziphs king of Hungaria being dead as aforesaid, & his widdow calling Solyman to hit aide, who as then was besieged in the citie of Buda, by Ferdinand king of the Romains. The said Solyman not onely came to releue hit, but beating back the army of Ferdinand, tooke the said citie, placed therin a Bassa, and sent the vwidow vwith her infant son into Transiluania. The yeere following the same Solyman defended the city of Pestum in Hungaria against the vnted and assembled forces of the whole German Empire, and after toke from them the two strong holdes of Strigoniūm and Alba Regalis, and in fine concluded peace with Ferdinand king of the Romains and Hungaria, vpon condicione of a yeerelie pension (which they doe call a tribute) to bee paied him. In the yeere 1549 and 1550 hee vndertoke another expedition against the Persians, and established a Beglerbeg at Vanum in the confines of Media and Armenia, after which he possessed himselfe of Tripolis in Africa, Temeswar in Hungaria, the which with the adioyning countries he committed to the defence of a new N. iij.

new Bassa: In the yeere 1553 he commanded his eldest son *Mustapha* to bee put to death at *Hislep*: gaue order though in vaine, that *Zegethum* in *Hungaria*, should be besieged & afterward entorced his son *Baiaseth* (desirous to succeed his father) hauing first ouercome him in battell, to fly to the king of the *Persians*, where being apprehended, he the said *Baiaseth*, with his loure sons, *Solyman*, his nephews, were cruelly slaine. 1560 the *Turks* gaue a great ouerthrow to the *Christians*, at the Iland of *Garbe*, while the saide *Christians* were desirous to recouer the towne of *Tripolis*, formerly taken, as is said by the *Turks*. After which the said *Solyman* attempted (but with small succes) the Iland of *Milta*, yet tooke that of *Chios* belonging to the state o' *Genua*. Lastiy being againe recalld into *Hungaria* by *John of Transiluaria* he died before *Zegethum* in the yeere 1566. and of his age seauentie sixe.

To whom succeeded his son *Selimus* the second, this *Selimus* made peace with *Maximilian* the *Emperour* every eight yeeres to be renewed, toke from the possession of the *Venetians*, the Isle of *Ciprus*, & in the yeere 1571 received that memorble ouerthrow in that worthy sea fought battell at *Lepanto*. Hee likewise by *Sinamus Bassa* his generall, toke in the kingdome of *Tunis* in *Africk*, forty yeeres after that *Charles the fit* the *Emperor* had held it in his command, & caused that famous fort of the *Guler*, to be ouerthrown & leueled with the ground: This *Sinamus Bassa*, is he who at this day is the great comander of all *Turkis* forces in *Hungaria*. And so the said *Selimus* in the end of the yeer 1574 died. Who left behind him a son called *Amurath* the third, the which *Amurath*, for the space of 14 continued yeers, held wars both long some

soime & variable with the *Persi* king called *Mahemet Hobobende*, (as much to say as the seruant of God,) which wars scarce determined he began to make head against the *Christians* & the *Emperour Rodolphe*, by whose soldiours the *Bassa Bosnensis* 1593 and others at *Sisciam* in *Hungaria* had ben slaine. This *Amurath* after many miseries inflicted vpon the poore remaynder of *Hungaria*, & the confines of *Austria* in the end of *March*, the yeere 1595 concluded his daies. To him succeeded *Mahumet* the third his son, who now reigneth, a yong man then of the age of thirty two yeeres, little more or lesse, of a great spirit, able body, & infaligable minde, who before the performance of his fathers funerall rites, caused xviii of his brothers, & fathers sons by seuerall concubines to bee strangled, all which with their said father he tooke order shoud honorably in the same monument be enterred, feauen & twenty of his sisters he inclosed in the *Seraglio*, a place in manner of a monestary, deputed for the retyning of the great *Senior* his children, & the safe keeping of his concubines. This *Mahumet* is thought to prosecut the wars against the *Christians*, which his father left vnfinished, with more feruent desire & greater forces then any other before him. In this sort as you see, haue I for your content entred and finished this matter, which required more largely to haue ben touched, & to haue buied one of better knowledge, which things though but slightly run ouer, may suffice to make aparant, that since but meane princes in regard of the vnted *Christian* forces, haue thus encumbred the course of their conquests it is not Impossible the like againe may be done, & greater when God shall encourage vs therunto.

The end of the second booke.

To the VVorshipfull his very good
osen Edward Carr of Sleford in the coun-
tie of Lincolne Esquier, and one in his
Maiesties Commission of peace
there.

SI R, one and the same loue and duetie,
deriuied from an infinit desire to serue
and honour you, formerly protested to
your worthy brothers, and now conti-
nued towards you, hath drawen on this
third booke, in such sort, as you see, not
without some speciall reason, for heere-
in beeing in most lively and faire lines,
laide forth, the perfect modells of true valour, and resolution,
with many other parts of action and exact military discipline,
admired presidents both for rule and example: I could not in
my owne conceit better dispose of, then in commending vnto
you, beeing as I heare, a man in action, and one whom your
countrie hath built their better hopes, when seruice or the like
occision may call them therewerto: what I wish, and well hope,
that the two first booke haue obtained from them, of fauou-
rable acceptaunce and entertaining, my honest will according
to my meaning: the same I would intreat most earnestly of
you, for this: which granted shall engage mee ere long to some
greater taske, better fitting your worth, and in conformity
more fullie squared to my owne desire, till when I take my
leue and rest, for euer in what I can.

Your worships exceedingly deuoted

R. Carr.

The third Booke.

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The Historie of *Celimus secundus*:
of the warres and siege
of Malta.



HO souer that complaine of the
inconstance and imbecilitie of hu-
maine affaires, & the estate of man-
kinde, truely they doe it not with-
out cause: for well obseruing they
shall see all things, with the heauens
themselues, sometime flow, & som-
time chaunge, though not accor-
ding to the face of the heauens, and the positions,
motions, and courses of the starres, (which in their times
appointed, doe make returne,) the matters and state of
mankinde are alwaies like, for neither mankinde it selfe,
nor their worthie acts, pollicies, arts, regiments, and
lawes, (wherof the most part are either at this pre-
sent, chaunged, or els vtterlie decaied,) which any con-
uersion or retourne of the heauens can come againe,
wherof example vnto vs, are the *Affyrians, Meds, Persians, Aegiptians, Carthagians, Greeks, and Romans*: For time
chaungeth and consumeth all worldly things, which
had enfolded and vtterly ouerturned, the famous acts
of these worthie nations, in the horrible darkenesse of
obliuion and forgetfulness, if that an other (as it were
a resplendishing and most bright sunne,) had not ben
reserved from the first beeginning of mankinde, that
should counteruaile such inconstance and imbecilitie of
humaine thinges, whereby not onely to prepare an im-
mortalitie, to sliding and fluxible matters, but chiefelie
O. (which

which all wee mortall creatures ought to desire,) to shew the perfect way, to ioysfull felicitie. And that is, the memorie of the acts and dooings past o' mankinde, which wee vse to call and name a Historic: for when that is in mankinde, there is by nature an engraved appetite and desire of that goodnessse, which is called felicitie, so as what soeuer wee thinke, we iustlie doe any thing, wee refer it to that end of goodnessse and felicitie, but verelie that true goodnessse, and most certaine felicitie consisteth in this point, that we may bee assuredly ioyned and knit with almighty God, and to bee like to him, as hee hath appointed vs: Which vnfainedlic they may affirme, to haue attayned and gotten, who that hauing brought in obedience to reason, the desires of their mindes, and appetites, will found and establishe their vniuersall life vpon vertue, accordingly as to the perfect dignitie of mankinde is required: howbeit, none there is, that would suppose to haue gotten certainlie and absolutely this felicitie, except hee will live and be conuersant in that kinde of societie and company of men, which by pollicie and wholesome lawes, being congregated and gathered together is rightly to bee called a citie or common wealth, which truely, then shall be accompted happy, if that three things, (whervpon due felicitie consisteth,) shall aide and helpe the same, that is to say, *That it may bee, that well it may bee, that always in that stay it may bee:* And forsoin much as there bee two especiall points, whercunto euery well ruled Citie or Common wealth ought to haue regard, that is to say, to peace and war, and that by peace, rather than

than warres, wee inioy and haue happie liues, considering that warres ought to bee taken in hand to the ende, that wee may in peace liue quietlie: and such desire of peace is in mankinde; that no trauaile, no charge, no daungers and perilles will bee eschewed that peace may bee attayned and gotten, when as thorough the same, each necessarie matter for quiet life is purchased.

But truely, of that kinde of peace I meane, not whan armour is layed a part, wee stay from mouing of warres, and in the meane time rancour and malice to haue domination in our breasts: but rather of such peace, I meane, that is grounded vpon the loue of God and beneuolence in the hertes of each good Citizen, to bee good vnto every one. Albeit, *Sapience* and *Wisdom* must bee the Queene and vñfallable guide of vs mortall people, who if shee bee our guide to felicitie, shee is plaine and able inough, of hir selfe to accomplish the same, it is shee that hath Fortune in obedience, it is shee that giueth vertue, diligencie, and other good acts, and the same can make fast to remaine in vs: but vnto hir ther be two waies addressed, the one by *Philosophers* and establishers of wholesome lawes, the other, by *Historiographers*, the one by generall precepts of good life & demonstrations of reason, the other, (by shew and declaration of woorliche facts, comming to passe, and sequels of the acts and doings of mankinde, joyned with varietie of examples, & matters of themselues.) leadeth & guideth vs to wisdom, & so much this exceedeth the other, as the very acts & doings hath the superiority ouer words & sayings,

O. ii. and

Of the warres

and as it may be well perceiued of what force it consisteth to allure the mindes of any, to the embrase of the same: for this path way of history, both kings, generals in wars, and chiefelic rulers in common wealthes, citezins young, and olde, rich and poore, miserable, and fortunate, ought to haue in price and estimation, in this to delight, this to loue, and of this to make to themselues a fellow, companion, and familiar, as it, which vnto every age, degree, and fortune, is most apt, and replenished with euery kinde of examples, aswell of priuate as publique fortune: for when we perceiue, how that fortune changeth or overturneth and abolisheth high, low, and meane, men, families, common wealthes, nations, empires and kingdomes; if there bee any thing amongst men, that hath power to encounter and counteruaile fortune, and to stop hir of hir pretended course, it must bee either, onely history, or else none other art can be found, that with the consideration of the ends & examples of the good and euill of all estates and callings, set before our eies, we may thereby bee brought vnto the desired port of felicitie: For in history, as a most pure and cleere glasse, or as a most ample and large Theatre, and high scaffolde, one may ponder and way, the course the race, and mutations of humaine affaires, the causes, and motions of the euent and commings to passe of the fortunate and unfortunate, and of their prudencies and temerities: wherewith, except we be to much guided with follie or slouth, wee may bee brought and led (as it were with hand) to the seate of quietnesse and felicitie: in which, onely tranquilitie, and abundance of all things to bee desired, glorie and immortalitie is found.

and siege of Malta.

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found. Wherfore hauing not a little considered of what valour, the memory of thinges done is, and how much vtilitie and profit the same bringeth to the affaires of mankinde: I haue (so much as in me lieth) not onely endeuored my selfe in much reading of histories, but also the same written in other languages, haue put in latin, and I my selfe likewise, to write the historie of the warres of *Malta*. Howbeit in the great plentie and abundance of the famous acts and doings of worthy persons as, that which pleasereth one, liketh not an other; so to me, though not a little it seemeth hard and difficult to giue due ornament of words, vnto the arts and doings of valiant seruitors, I haue taken in hand, to put in perpetuall meinorie, the worthy warres done in the said Iland of *Malta*, of the which so briefelie as I can, I will shew vnto you the truth.

The warres, which *Solyma* the Emperour of the Turkes moued against the knights of the order of Saint John, heretofore founded in *Hierusalem*, & now resident in the Illand of *Malta* commonly called *Malta*, I purpose to write: not onely becausse the same seemed to bee meruailous cruell, and doubtfull to which of the parts the victorie would encline, but rather the worthie vertue and force of those excellent defenders, no lesse may vnto each one appeare, then likewise it may bee well perceiued, how much the force of Christian nations, ioyned together, may prouale, and which being sondred and disioyned how little the same can doe: But before I make mencion of the beginning of the warres, it is requisit that I should touch somewhat of the originall and beginning of the knights of this order of O.iii.

Saint

Saint John, & by what meanes they first came into this Iland of Malta, to the end that every thing may the more easely & plainly be vnderstood & knownen. At such time as the christians of the Latin Church, moued wars against the Sarrazins & Turks, & other barbarous nations, for obtaining of Hierusalem & other cities of Syria: there were that vowed themselues, & all the goods that they had, to serue in defencie of the most sacred religion of our sauour Christ: Among these, were some that builded Hospitals in Hierusalem, for receiving and lodging of Pilgrimes, & that defended the waies and passages of Pilgrimes from the invasions of the Infidels, who alwaies studid to annoy the christians: of these, some were called Ioannits, some Templars, some Teutones. Howbeit the Templars (about CC.yeres agone (by meanes of Philip le Beau the french king, & Pope Clement the fist of that name condemning that order) were viterly destroied, the orders of the Ioannits, and Teutones did remaine: Neuerthelesse the truth of the name of the Ioannits, is not according to the common fame, which supposeith that it tooke name in the honour of Saint John the Baptist, but rather (as saith the Bishop of Tyrus, who at that time right grauely wrote the acts and worthy doings of the Christians in the Orient:) that the hospitall & house, (whereof the Ioannits doe account themselues to bee bretheren) was founded by the Amalphitan people of Italy, who traded about affaires of merchandize into the Orient, (at such time as the Egyptian Bishop whom the Egyptians called their Caliph ruled in the city of Hierusalem) and by them, their order was consecrated to Saint John a Cyprian borac, Patriarch sometime of Alexandria, who

who by reason of his great charitie towradess the poore people of God, was called Saint John the Eleemosynar: But vnto those, that think the name to bee ascribed to John Hircanus one of the Machabaeis, they seeeme, they would craue authoritie from to much antiquitie: Howbeit I will leaue the credit thereof, vnto the authours and inventors of the same. Notwithstanding, it is most manifest, that the white Croffe, (which the Ioannits vse vpon black apparell,) the first tooke of one Gerard former time maister of the hospitall in Hierusalem: but their institutions & rules, (wherwith their order is governed) one Raimundo Poggio a Florentine (created with no little authoritie Magister Equitum, (according to the warlike order of the ancient Romans) did establish, &c so in procelle of time (both by the liberality of Princes, & other naciones) they encresing with wonderfull wealth, & riches, they builded to themselues (by vertue & good order,) such dominacion as it were another kingdome, & attained therwith no little fame & glory, howbeit yea as by the space of CC.yeres, they had worthely serued in Siria against the infidels: at the last when the infidels had taken Hierusalem, they retired themselues vnto Ptolemais, a city in Phoenicia, & from thence, being expulsed by the Souldan of Egyp, then with a great nauie (which they gat together, partly by their owne wealth, and partly by the help & aide of the Templars, and other christian nations, which succored them) they inuaded the Isle of the Rhodes, being possessed at that time by the Turks, whoni they expelled from thence, where they & their posterite remayned, vnto such time as by the aforesnamed Soliman, with a great and meruailous nauie inuading and

Of the warres

and besieging the *Rhodes* (whan as with their owne onely force they could no longer resist, and were forsaken; as it seemed, of all other Christian aide and helpe) they were compelled to yeeld vp the Iland of the *Rhodes* into the hands of the *Turkes*, and so to forsake the same. This fortresse of the Orient in such sort beeing lost, and that the *Ioannits*, had retired themselves into the Iland of *Sicilia*: than by the liberalitie of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth of that name, they obteigned the Iland of *Malta*, commonly named *Malta*, in the yeere of our Lord God 1529. and there euer sithens haue staied themselves, which Island (as oportunitie shall serue when heereafter in this historie, I shall entreate of the besieging of the same, and of the counsailes and preparations of *Solyman*) I will at length discrue. The *Ioannits*, thus rested and seised in *Malta*, and their power not a little encrased, they seased not by all the waies and meanes they could to endamage and annoy the *Turkes*, as well on the seas to spoile the *Turkes*, as also in euery war that our Emperour moued against the *Turkes*, they euer ioyned their forces with the powers of the Emperour. With which so doings *Solyman* moued aswell by his vsuall infatiate appetite of dominacion and rule, as with his auncient hatred conceiued against Christian religion, was meruailouslie offended, and began to note and marke this their doings, and deuised with himselfe by what meanes he might drive the *Ioannits*, from the seas, and vterly (if hee could) to destroy them: therefore with no little dilligence and hast, hee caused a great nauie to bee prepared and rigged forth, and so commaundered to his Admirall and Captaines of his places

on

and siege of *Malta*.

on the sea coasts, to be in a readinesse at the next spring, whan as, a little after, in person hee had viewed part of such things as hee had before commaundered, and part by intelligence hee had vnderstoode, to bee in readinesse. Than calling his nobilitie together in counsaile, he vsed these kinde of woords to them (as was reported) which follow.

That, which by these fortie yeeres I haue alwayes desired, that after myne other warres, I might get so much leisure, whereby I might once driue out from their nests these boſting *Cruciats*, gloryng so much themselues, to bee the chiefeſt propugnacle and fortres of the Christians. The ſame occation, (mee thinketh) I haue now obtained thorough the help of the great God and *Mahumet*. For, as touching the attempts of the *Persians* I haue in ſuch ſort repreſſed, that they cannot harme vs. And as concerning the troubles fained to bee in *Hungary*, I truſt to giue ſuch orders in that behalfe, that our enemie ther, ſhall bee glad to get and hide himſelfe in the furtheſt part of *Germany*, and to be ſayne to demaunde & craue peace at our hands.

You, your ſelues, are not ignorant what complaints are daylie made vnto vs by our ſubjects and marchanuts whom thofe of *Malta* (whom rather pirats than ſoldiours I call) whan they get themſelues to the Seas, they vtterly ſpoyle and reaue from them all that they haue. The iniuries of whom, and others vnto vs done, both Gods law and mans, doth mooue vs to reuenge. Nor truely there can be any thing more acceptable, or ioyful to me, or more aptly can purchase to me an Immortall fame, than that I might bring to paffe (beefore I depart from

P

The woor
Solyman,
his Nobili-

this

this mortall lyfe,) two things, the one to winne the Island of *Malta*, the other is to haue whole *Hungary* and the landes and dominions of *Sarmatia* in subiection.

Except some will thinke that it will bee greater difficultie to mee, to expell these *Cruciats* out of their Rocks of *Malta*, than to our elders that droue theyr predecessors both out of *Hierusalem* and whole *Syria*, and to vs also that after, expelled them out of the Isle of *Rhodes*. But this *Island* (you will say) is more nigh *Itally*, from whens ayde may foone come, and with their Nauies the easilier to bee defended.

Beeleeue and credit mee, that the *Italiens* dare not fight against vs on the seas; whan they remember how oft they haue had the ouerthrow at our handes. As for any great garrisons, the place being so litle and straight, they cannot haue. And if they haue, they cannot feede them long. Wherefore for their affaires, wee entende this next Spring, to set forwards our mightie Nauie, and for that purpose wee haue already giuen in commaundement to euerie of our Captaines of the Seas, that with theyr Gallies and Shippes, they may bee in a readynesse to depart.

The King of *Arger* will bee there to serue vs. Our Garrisons remayning at *ALEXANDRIA*, in *Egypt* are in readynesse. The Nauie of *Dorgutes*, are lykewile rigged foorth to serue vs, by my meanes. To this great and mighty Nauie of ours, wee doubt not but that the force of the *Occident* wil give place: Which with the ayde of the grear God and *Mahumet*, and your inuin- cible courage, I firmly hope will come to passe.

There resteth no more, but for you to thincke, how

how these warres may conueniently proceede, and to giue to vs your faythfull aduises and counsayles in the same.

Whiche that you may the better doe, becholde heere beefore your eyes the plat of the whole *Island* of *Malta*, and of euerie fortresse in the same, which I received from certayne friendes of myne right expert in discryuing of such matters. The woords of *Solyman* thus declared, and throughlie considered by those, to whome both the *Island* and the order of the same, was right well knowne, and by them declared, what, conuenientlie was in that beehalfe to bee done.

The sheweth counsayle of the *Malta*
The
counsayle
of the
order
of Mal-

It was fullie resolued and concluded, that the Nauie so in a readynesse at the appoynted tyme shoule set forward, and to depart. And so the Nauie beeing vitailed, and the Soldiours shippes, tarryed onelie for windes. Of these proceedings of the *Turke*, *Seignior Jean Valet*, a French man borne, and at that tyme great Maister of *Malta*, both by letters and Espialls getting intelligence, for that hee had at *Constantinople* such friends, as most prudently gat knowledge of the secret counsaile and doings of *Solyman*, as one not affrayde but alwayes thincking that victories remayned in the handes of God, and that the part of a prudent Generall and others at his commaundement, is to bee alwayes vigilant, diligent and to worke by Counsayle, and therefore hee called together a Counsayle of the Knights of the order, to whom in few woords hee dyd speake to this effect following.

Of the warres

What, Solyman the Turke (most noble and valyaunte
knights) prepareth, and how great and mightie warres
hee entendeth to mooue against vs, I thincke of late
you haue vnderstood, so well, as I doe, whereof to make
any long circumstance of woordes to you, I neede not.
The enemie is knownen, his infatiat desire of dominatio
and rule is knownen, his might and force is knownen, yea,
& his continuall hatred against vs & the Christian faith
is no lesse knownen to you. But now rather let euerie
of vs, doe our endeour to haue first almighty God to
be our friend, and than to prepare euerie thing for the
warres. Almighty God would be our friend, and we
assuredly shall please him, if wee doe two things. One,
if wee from hence foorth, amende our liues, the other
is, if wee honour him with pure religion and to haue a
firme hope & trust in him, which is called *Pietie*. With
these vertues, our famous elders, obtained innumerable
victories against the infidells, in the *Orient*. And there is
no doubt, but, if with the like vertues, we be furnished,
wee shall giue ouerthrow to the cruell purposes of this
bluddie Tyrant. Howbeit, for so much as Almighty
God is ready to aide such as would be circumspect &
apt to doe well, and not the slowthfull, and cowardes:
Let vs therefore prouide for those necessaries as both
our profession requireth, and order of warres, willeth.
Whereof part, in our selues consisteth, & part in other
Christian Princes remayneth. As for victuall, money,
armour, and other things which order of warres desi
reth, wee shall so prouide for the same, that you shall
well vnderstand, that money, in necessities, I will not
spare, and much lesse, labour, where I may employ it.

In

and siege of Malta.

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In these affaiers I will bee ready to spend all that
I can make. And for any safegard of my lyfe, I will
not eschew any perill. As touching other Princes, I
cannot beeleeue, that (vpon such waightie occasions
whereof the perill no lesse toucheth them, than vs,) they
would bee negligent to giue vs ayde. As for the
Popes holynesse, the *Emperour*, and the king of *Hispain*, I
doubt not (for the Pietie and godlynnesse in them re
mayning) but that they will succour and aide vs to
the vttermost, and that also they will mooue others
to doe the lyke; And as for you, most worthie lampes
and lights of Christians and others of our most louing
bretheren knights of this sacred and martiall order, I
doubt not but that you all, will so couragiously and
valiauntly fight against this most cruell tyrant, subuer
ter & ouerturner of the true religion of God, and op
pressor of all good conditions, manners, Artes, and dis
cipline, in defence of our Christian Religion, liues,
goods, and glorie of the Latin Church, that the view
of the glorious Crosse of ours, (which this vile dog)
so much abhorreteth and contempneth) may bee seene
to his perpetual care in *Constantinople* (where he dwel
leth.) Wee haue not now affaires in the *Ile of Rhodes*,
farre from our aydes and succors out of *Asia, Europe, and*
Aegipt, compassed about, with the enemie, both by
land and sea: but rather in the view and face of *Ita
lie* & strong fortified places, wherby the enemy may be
easilie ouerthrown. That it may so bee, let vs make
ernest prayer to almighty God. When the great master
had thus giuen ende to his most prudent woords.
The Knights of the order which than were present,

P.iiij.

with

Of the warres

with one voyce aunswere, that sooner theyr liues should take ende, than that so coman a cause for want of theyr endeaours should quaile, or that they on liue, to come into the handes of that cruell tyraunt *Solyman*.

After common prayers and generall processions, commaunded to bee done in euerie Church in the *Island of Malta*: there were immediatlie of the order of the Knights, three chosen, to bee *Tribuni* or generall surueiours, whereof one an *Italian* by surname called *Imperadore*; the other a French man borne, named *Bernye*; the third, a *Spaniard*, borne in *Aragone*, called *Quatius*, gentlemen of great prouidence, foresight, and right expert in knowledge of warres. Who according to theyr prudence hauing considered euery thing meete to this warre, they immediatly dyd put the same in readinesse. For they, considering, that the suburbs and trees, nigh vnto places of fortification would not a litle bee an anoynce to the same, they immediatly caused them to bee cast downe. Thus the fortifications being viewed, and the Garrisons of euery fortresse there augmented, and the same abundantly victualled according to the considered necessitie thereof. Letters were immediatly sent from the great master both to the *Popes holiness* and other *Princes*, together with diuerse messengers into sundrie places, that might giue intelligence heereof as well to the knights of this order remaining among other naciones, as to others. Of which letters, one written to *Pius the fourth of that name, Pope of Rome*, that of this, the others may bee well considered, this (as followeth) is the Copie.

While

the Siege of Malta.

27

VHile that I endeauored my selfe with the force of this our order to withstand the great *Turkish* nation now in readinesse to approch towards vs: I found my selfe in manner vnaarmed from euery necessary, which of my selfe I colde neuer haue furnished, if your exceeding goodnesse (most holy father) both with your Letters, money, and one Ensigne of valiant Soldiers had not ayded me. So that otherwise I had not knowne, how wel to haue done.

For considering by reason of the sundrie threathnings which the Turcke made these sundrie yeeres past, against this place and order, I haue beene brought to such intollerable charges that I know by no meanes, how to come out of debte, of the money that I haue borrowed, besides the interest daylie thereof encreasing.

Howbeit a greater matter encombereth my mynde, which is, (whether this armie of the *Turkes* eyther shall proceede, or stay,) whan I perceiue him, beeing our generall enemy, so diligent to set forward his Nauie and continually busie about his other afayres of warres, and wee of this order, to bee put to these intollerable charges.

Will not any thinke, that right great is the folie of vs Christians, that will suppose, that whan the power of the Christians is such, that scarce it beeing able to defende themselues: The *Turke* will feare to receive any detryment at our hands. What courage will hee conceiue, when none of vs encountereth his intollerable pride.

Bee-

The Letter fr^t the great master of Malta to Pope Pius the fourth of that name.

Of the warres

Besides hee well knoweth, that if he might get but togetheris his onely pirats that remayne heere in the Ponent or West parts, hee were able, of them, in mine opinion to make a greater Nauie and Armie by sea; than that we Christians with no little difficulty made against him the other yeere. Which the like againe, this yeere, I would bee right glad to see. Howbeit who is so ignoraunt that if such a Nauie and force may bee made of his onely Pirats, what if a great part or the whole power of his Countries in the leuant and Orient, were ioyned togetheris, may not hee than doe vs a greater detriment, if God of his goodnesse doe not stay him, vnto such tyme as Christian Princes haue cōuenient space to gather themselues together to encounter so puissaunt and mightie an enemie.

And whan as it seemeth that the *Princes of the Christians* so much negle^teth the fauour of God, that with no detriments and with no infamies, they will awake from their too long sleepe and slouth, it is to bee feared that God will take of his hand and to let slip to this cruell tyrant, occasion and power to accomplish his long desired minde and furie vpon all vs Christians, that no power which heereafter shall bee against him made, can bee able to withstand his crueltie.

Which inconueniences, I doubt not, but that your holynesse, long, beefore this time, hath considered, and that worthiie minde of yours is inflamed with the deſire of so holy and Godly reuengement as is to bee done vpon so common a cruell enemie & hethen dog.

But

and firge of Malta.

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But I feare to seeme to much arrogant, in your holynesse sight, that haue taken so much boldnesse vpon me to intreat vpon such affaires so rudely with your holynesse, to whose diuine prouidence these things are better knowne than to mee. Neuerthelesle whan as such things, which by eies are scene, doe a great deale more moue vs, then that which we heare with our eares, then I hauing these thinges continually before mine eyes, am to affected, that I cannot in such waightie affaires hold my tongue, but most humbly and lowlie doe beseech your holynesse, not for this sacred order of knights sake, onely, which alwaies is and shalbe ready to live & die for the defence of the Christian religion, (considering by our profession no kinde of death must be refusid, where due occasion shall be ministred,) but also in the name of whole christendome that so much already hath tasted your most godly and paternall zeale and loue towards them, that for the publique tranquilitie of the same touching matters of faith, you laied aside all your owne priuate commodities and affaires, calling together of late a counsaile generall: now that you would vouchsafe, to call some other counsaile togetheris (being a matter of no lesse importance, to repaire the wofull ruines of long times past, and to eschew worle to come) whereby Christian princes gathering themselues togetheris may conuert and turne their powers against this pestiferous serpent; and to drive him into his auncient limits, that no longer, hee haue power to deuoure such multitude of Christians; as to the great shame of Christendome he hath done: For so far wee haue scene him spred his deadly poison, that now hee

Q.

hath

Of the warres

hath in maner compassed the little limits of the christi-
an kingdomes: now considering that all domesticall
and ciuill warres beeing vterly extinguished, and assur-
red amitie and peace by the prouidence of God bee-
ing resident among Christian princes, it behoueth
vs now to awake. For if by mistortune our prin-
ces againe should fall to any new vvarres among
themselues, this importunate beast would not sleepe,
but would seeke how hee may worke our vtter ru-
ine. Truely most holy father, for the great pietie and
singuler prudencie in your holynesse remaining, I hope
that so great an occasion of laude and perpetuall gla-
ry (whereby you may delerue wel towards both God
and man,) you would leauue to no successor of yours:
With this hope I will comfort my selfe, trusting before
I shall depart fro this mortall life, to see this sacreddiour-
ny to bee aduanced against our cruell and commode-
nemie of Christes religion, beesides which, nothing
can happen to mee more ioyfully, or bee to mee a
greater felicitie: If therefore in these matters, I haue
beene either longer, or more liberall of writing, than
to mee hath appertained, I hope that of your fa-
thely clemency, you will giue pardon vnto me, whom
no little care of our Christian religion rather then
rashnesse hath moued mee thus to wright: And for
my part for your perpetuall goodnesse or rather pietie
towardes this our order, I most humbly render to your
holynesse immortall thankes, and so will continue to
doe during life, and so doe beezech almighty God
to preserue your holinesse in good and prosperous
life. About this time Dom Garza di Toledo, the Vice-
roy

and siege of Malta.

56

roy of Sicilia, vnder Philip king of Spain, and gouernour
of all his graces nauy in thole parts, fearing that the na-
vie of Solyman, vnder coulour to seeme that hee would
inuade Malta, would straight passe to the Gulet, a Castle
standing in the straites and entering of the poole or
stagne of Tunes, and to beefsinge the same, therefore he
passed ouer to the castle of Gulet, both to furnish the
same with new supplie of Garrison, and other necessa-
ries thereunto appertaining, and in his way, the Viceroy
touched at Malta, and therelanded to confer with the
great master, touching the warres pretended against
Malta: But they hauing intelligence that the nauy of
Solyman was departed from Constantinople, so as by rea-
son of small time, they could not tarry so long toge-
thers as the waight of the cause required, Dom Garza
immediatly departed from Malta, vnto the castle of Gu-
let in Barbaria, which when he had viewed, and furnish-
ing the same with such necessaries as it lacked, hee re-
courned with all possible diligence into Sicilia, to rig &
set forward ther the kings nauy. But the meane time, the
nauy of Solyman the xxii. of March in the yeere of our sa-
uiour Christ M.D.lxv began vnloose from Constantino-
ple, & the next day after departed from that port towards
Peloponneso, & so came to Methone. Ther Mustapha Bassa a
man of the age of lxxv. yeres, being appointed to be ge-
nerall of the Turks army by land, ther mustered his army
where of his horsemen called Spachi, which came out of
the lesser Asia, were seauen thousand, hauing to their
captaine a gentleman of the fame prouince of Asia, with
two lieutenants. Out of Cilicia came v.C from the Iland
of Mitilenia came also iiiii.C y of euery of their prouinces
had

1565.
The 22 of
March the
Turks nauy
valosed from
Constantino-
ple.

Q.ii.

Of the warres

had capitaines from whence they came: he had also of olde souldiers, whom they call Janizers, foure thousand ffe hundred, to whom Soliman himselfe appointed two Captaines to bee their leaders, considering that their generall whom the *Turkes* (in their tongue) call *Aga*, neuer departeth out of *Constantinople*: Beesides this, there be among the *Turkes*, a kinde of souldiers that liue of the fruits and stipends of their spiritualtie, of these in this army were thirteene thousand, who at *Constantinople* had vowed themselves to serue for the defence of their faith and Emperour. There came also out of *Thrasia* and *Peloponneso* two Captaines, and one liuete-nant with a thousand two hundred horsemen, & three thousand and ffe hundred other souldiers that came from diuers places, voluntary to serue for wages: there likewise, did *Pial Bassa* the *Turke* Admirall, muster his nauy wher he found to be a hundred & thirtie gallies, eleauen ships of burden of the lesser sort, a eleauen ships of burden of the greater making, beesides a great ship that was broken beesides *Methone*, in which were then sixe thousand barrells of gun pouder, thirtie thousand shot, and sixe hundred *Spachi*, of the which scarce two hundred were sauad. There came also from the Island of the *Rhodes* ten gallies, vnder the guiding of *Halipors* a man of the age of threescore and tenne, two gallies from *Mitylene* vnder the leading of *Salach*, brother to the king of *Alger*, that newly was dead, also there were other foists & pirats ships, about the number of seauen-teene. With this great and mightie nauy, the *Turks* departed from *Methone* the thirteenth day of Maie, and arived at *Malta* the eighteenth day of the saide moneth

and fasse of *Malta*.

57

of *Malc*, and tooke first port at the North east part of the Island, which the inhabitants call *Marzisirocco*. But the *Turkes* perceiving that they had not a safe rodested there, they remoued from thence to an other rodested of that Island, called *Maiaro*. All this time the famous pirate *Dorguta* was not come, it was said, he was taricng in the Island called *Meninges*, commonly named *Gerbis*, with his ships, and in readinesse to come, and that hee had sent to the king of *Tunes*, foure peeces of artillery of brasse, and other things, which hee gaue to him, to the end that the king should not aide the Christians in these wars, but rather to help the *Turks* with a certaine porcion of victuall according to the agreement made betwixe them, and for these and other causes it was sayned that the *Turks* would first goe vnto the *Gulat*, or else of purpose these newes were sowed, to the ende that those of *Malta* crediting the same, should at vna-wares be surprised: But the great maister of *Malta* (being a man of a meruailous quicke and ingenious wit, and therewith right expert in the act of warres, and also wonderfull constant and circumspect against the practises and policies of the enimie) did fore cast these deuises and counsailes of the enimie, and right well did espie their purposes on euery side, in his gentlemen and souldiers all, there was espied to rest an assured constancy and meruailous liueliness to serue in so worthy and most honorable cause: how beeit beeefore I further proceede, this place requireth, to distriue vnto you the situation of this Island called *Malta* otherwise *Malta*, & of the especiall places thereof (wherein so many wortlie acts were done,) to make mencion. The Island

Q.iii.

Malta

The 150. Main
the Nauie of
the Turks ar-
ived at Malta.

Of the warres

descript. Malta is placed beetwixt Africk and Sicilia, and doubted whether it should belonge to Africk or Europe; if it had not ben that the ancient inhabitants of Melita time out of minde, having vsed the common language of those of Africk, haue alwaies reputed the Iland to bee a member of Africk. This Iland from the North east to the North west is drawn in length twenty miles, & in breadth twelue miles, & from the place wher it is broadest, it proceedeth to be strait & narrow vpon the south towards that part of Africk wherc those famous quicke sandes remaine that are called Sirtis Minor, vpon the cost whereof is situated that towne which is named Leptis Parua, & vpon the North facing Sicilia, being more towards the Promontory or land end therof, called Pachino than vnto Lilybro, & in compass and circuit threescore miles: the Carthagians first inhabited this Iland, & after, as I understand one Battus, the first builder of the famous citie of Cyrenes, did reigne there in the time of Dido, which afterward came againe in subiection of the Carthagians & so remained vnder their dominion vnto such time as the same in the second wars of the Carthagians, that they with their nauy on the seas, being overthrown came into the hands of the Romaines: at which time those of Malta were supposed to be very wealthy by reason of the repaire & much concourse of sundry nations, through trade of marchandise that frequented thether, and famous, through sundry notable artes there vsed, & also of their notable Cotton which is very soft & white, there growing, of which sundry garments are made by those of Malta and had much in estimacion. This Iland is well replenished with hony there growing, whereof some

and siege of Malta.

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some suppose this Iland to haue the name, and also very famous with the growth there, of sweet roses: the trees there, haue fruit twice in the yeare, and oft times two haruests there, in one yeare, chiefely of barley flax & Cotton: Howbeit the ground ther euery where, is stony, vneuen, as heere an hill, there a valle, very unfruitfull for trees, albe it there groweth, the figge tree, Aple tree, Almonde tree and Vines planted with the much labour and diligence of the inhabitant, they haue wilde date trees but vnfruitfull, they haue exceeding plenty of great thistles, which they vse for their fewell and fire. In this Iland of Malta is meruailous scarcetie of sweet water, (which neither the skyes (by reason of hylke rayne there) giuech, nor yet the grounds there, yeeldeth,) And for such fountaines and wells, that there bee, surely libelleous that it is, the rayne that falleth in winter that maketh them, and yet they bee halfe salt and brackish, and drie in sommer. The Inhabitants through the exceeding heatte of the Sunne are so tan ned, that they looke in colour much like to the Aspians so that rather in winter each thing that there groweth, seemeth no bee more pleasant to the view & sight. The men of this Iland for the most part are very healthfull of bodie, of slender diet, very diligent and painfull rather than apt to wars, whom old age sooner than disease and sicknesse, doth take them from this life. Their forme of buildings (except their citie which is situated in the midst of the Iland somewhat more towards the South, which also is called Melita) having cer taine fibberbs about the same, are long & low not much

vnlke

Of the warres.

vnlike the sheepe coies of Barbaria, couered with reede or thacht: the little and pretie dogs called the *Miletean Dogs*, are supposed to come forth of this Island, which *Pliny* rather ascribeth to the other Island likewise called *Malta*, lying in the gulf of *Venice*, betweene the Island *Cursula* and the shore of *Dalmatia*. In this Island of *Melita* called *Malta*, some affirme that *Saint Paule* the *Apostle* after shipwracke there did land: howbeit let them bee-ware, it be not the other *Malta*, in the gulf of *Venice* that *Saint Luke* makes mencion of, when as *Saint Paule* in the the sea *Adriatico* otherwise called the gulfes of *Venice*, was tossed too and fro with cruell tempests of weather, but that he came out of that sea, into the other sea of *Mediterraneum*, where the Iland of *Malta* standeth, it appereth not in *Saint Luke*. And as to that, which they say, no venemous beast neither therel is engendred, nor, if from any other place, any venemous beast be brought into that Iland doth harme, and the same so hath continued there, sithens that time *Saint Paule*, did cast of from his hands the viper and adder, that would haue stung him: howbeit it may be thought that this Iland hath naturally had that property, as likewise those Ilands therabouts called *Gaulo*, *Galata*, and *Clupea*; at this day haue the like vertue by nature, & sundry other Ilands in that sea of *Mediterraneum*, as others other wher: for the Iland of *Candy* nourisheth no manner of venemous beast, as England hath no Wolves, nor Ireland any Serpent, considering both the aire of the places and nature of the grounds, are contrarious to the same: but touching this matter, as sundry haue their diuers mindes, so, that which hath seemed to make against the common opinions

and siege of *Malta*.

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opinions by any probable maner, I haue thought good by the way not to let passe, but so my purpose I will returme, *Malta* vpon that part, which is towards *Sicilia*, is bowed and crooked into sundry bayes and rodesteds uncer for the riding of shippes: as for hauens and ports this Iland of *Malta* hath two, besides the hauen vpon the East part of that Iland, called *Marziasfracte*, and besides also the rodested of *Saint Thomae*, and an other which is not far distant from the same, called *Scal* or *Scala*: of these two aforesaymed hauens or ports, there is one which stretcheth from the South to the North, alongest the side of a long pece of ground of the laid Iland, in forme like unto halfe an Island, and this hauen of the inhabitants is called *Marzamesseto*; the other hauen stretching from the East to the West is likewise named *Porto Maior*. Vpon the uttermost part and front of this halfe Iland is situated a Castle or fortresse right stronglie fortified both by nature and art, called *Saint Elmo*, whom heereafter I will name *Saint Hermes*. To him that entreth into the other hauen called *Porto Major*, there doe appeare vpon the left hand thereof, four long peeces of ground towards the sea, as it were certaine little halfe Islands or promontories, with as many rodesteds or baies for ships therunto appertaining: vpon the first of these said four promontories is situated a certayne *Gallos*, being the common place of execution for offenders: vpon the second promontorie is planted an exceeding strong castle vpon an incredible high and ragged rocke of stone, called the castle of *Saint Angelo*, nigh vnto the which, there is adioyning a towne seuered from the castle but with a dike and wall called *R.*

Borgo,

Of the warres

Borgo, and sometime the new towne, cut and made out of a rocke right well fortifyed both with the sea, and all of the souldour. In the Castle of Saint Angelo, the great Maister of Malta remaineth, & in the towne, the knights of the order are resident. Vpon the third promontorie there is a towne also called Bargo, and a Castle called Saint Michael. The fourth promontorie is vnhabited: hauing a mighty baie in the same, stretching to the water of Marza, and in manner to halfe the Island as beeefore I haue said. Againe from the hauen or port of Musetto towards the West, there appeareth another rodested, which is dedicated to Saint George, and an other called Benoraz: beyonde lieth the port of Saint Paul, not much lesse then that, which is on the Orientall part of the Island, after, is the rodested called Salyvarum. Vpon the other side of the Island which is towards Africk is the rodested called Miliaria: there bee also sundry other little Islands not farre from Malta, as the Island of Gaulos, which some suppose to be Cofira, at this day called Gozo, in compasse thirty miles, towards the West of Malta, not passing fife miles distant, by sea from Malta, which Island of Gozo, in the yeere of our Lord 1551 was taken and wasted by the Turks and sixe thousand captiues, out of that Island were taken & had away, at such time as the towne of Tripolis in Africke, (which sometime was called Leptis Magna,) was wone by the Turkes, from the knights of this order. Betwenee Goza and the West side of Malta, there lieth two other Islands, whereof the greater, commonly is called Cumino, and the lesser Cuminetto, seuered the one from the other, with the sea, beeing there verie narrow.

At

and siege of Malta.

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At the South and by West part of Malta, there is an other little Island called at this day Piper: All which Islands are in obedience to the great Maister of Malta, the rest for the most part are compassed with hidge rockes, and raging seas, thus of Malta and the inhabitants thereof, (somuch as appertaineth to the knowledge of this present matter,) I thinke there is inough saide. The meane time, what power and army Monfier Valet the great Maister of Malta, had to withstand the Turks ariuall, I will shew vnto you first of all. In the Island were a thousand and three hundred souldiers, thatooke wages: of a thousand of those, some were Spaignards, some French men, and some Flortimer, the rest were Neapolitanes: There also were a thousand, that frequented the seas, pertaining to the Navie of the Knights of Malta, and fife hundred in the towne of Saint Angelo: Of the inhabirants of the Island were about fife thousand, that were trained for the warres, and were retired from their Countrie habitations to Borgo, where the great Maister was resident. There were also fife hundred Knights of the order, besides the Priests and esquires, for there bee three sortes of them, that in this order of Malta are called bretheren: And this was the vvhole number that defended the Castles and Tovnes of Saint Hermies, Angelo, and Michael, into the vwhich the souldiers vvere distributed, accordingly as each place was thought requisit to bee defended. In the Citie of Malta (vwhereof beeefore I mentioned,) were placed two hundred souldiers besides the citizens, & foure hundred chosen out of the rest of the vvhole Island,

R.ii

and

Of the warres

and three hundred, also that sryued on horsebacke, vnto this garrison of the citie of *Malta*, was appointed to be generall, one *Sr. Jo. Vigna a Moncalvio*, a gentleman borne in the countrie of *Piemont*: besides these things, was prepared a meruailous furniture of victuall, armour, weapon, and necessaries, which vsually was to be provided, meet for abiding of a long siege and other wants, and aboue all other, that which is to be desired against every infortunitie, there was planted in every one that ther fernes, an iuincible courage, which oft times maketh the ouerthrownen to be victorious. Things beeing in this order and readinesse, and understanding that seauen and twentie of the gallies of the *Turkes* had taken the port of *Marzafirocco*, and had landed certaine of their souldiers: Immediatly *Gyon* the Captaine of the nauie of the order of *Malta*, a right diligent and forward gentleman accompanied with five Arquebusiers was sent to view the enemie, and in so much as he could to endeauour to draw the enemie to some open places: But the *Turks* espying them, right quickly retred to their gallies againe: at an other part, where the greater part of the *Turks* nauie rode, ther were landed two hundred *Turks*, & vpon them gaue a charge, one *Rivier* a gentleman of france, accompanied with eight other horsemen, who hauing his horse slaine vnder him, and with the losse of one of his companions, came into the handes of the enemie. While these matters were in doing, a christian man a captiue among the *Turkes* slipt from them, as they rode in the port of *Vulturno*, and fled into the citie of *Malta*, and discovered there to the general, the purpose of the enemie, laying that the deuile of

Mysta-

The Turkes
landing in
Malta.

and siege of *Malta*.

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Mustapha the generall of the *Turkes* army was, that the most part of their army should land with their great artillery, and to besiege and giue batterie to the fortifi ed places, whose opinion *Piale Bassa*, the *Turks* Admirall, did vtterly mislike, saying that if he so did, he should but come to his manifest destruction, considering they had not passing eight thousand Janizars, and ten thousand Spachies, besides a rude and vntrained companie of mariners to be left in the shippes, wherfore vnto such time as *Dorguta* should come, who euery houre was loked for hee would enterprise nothing, at whose comming, hee woulde then agree, that the castle of *Saint Hermes* should first bee beleagued. For *Solyman* the Emperour of the *Turkes*, did commaund that nothing should bee done without the advise and counsaile of *Dorguta*, such confidence and credit had this barbarous prince in the warlike knowledge and practise of *Dorguta*: But whether this intelligence were true or fayned, the *Turks* neuerthelesse riding in the port of *Vulturno*, landed twentie thousand of their souldiers, with fiue field peeces, and encamped themselves right stronglie in a place, which those of *Malta* call *Azorbar*: that done *Piale Bassa* accompanied with seauen thousand with him departed to view the situacion of the fortresse of *Saint Michael*, vpon that part which loketh towards *Saint Katherines Church*, and durst not approch nigher, because the artillery of the fortresse began to shooote of a pace, against him and his company, besides, certaine of the garrison of the fortresse, made a salie and issue vpon the enemie, and in such sort behaved themselues that one named *Curfeline*, by surname called *Prata* a gentle man

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inan

Of the warres.

Consultation
of the Turkes.

man of right singuler worthines, hauing in his company but one onely Spaniard, valiantly bereft an ensigne from the enimie, & killed a Sanguaco, and certaine others of the Turks. So the Turks retired to their campe, vvhether among the Princes of the same, consultation vvas had, whether it were better, that battery should be first layed to the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, or to the towne of *Saint Michael*: Finallie it was concluded that the fortresse of *Saint Hermes* should first bee besiegued. So the Turkes to view the fortresse, mounted vpon a hill, who beeing perceived by those of the fortresse, issue and salie was made, and therewith a skirmish on both sides beegan, and after a few slaine on each part, each side retired. Matters in this fort growing hotte, the Prince of *Malta*, hauing in memorie thole things that were to bee done, thought it most convenient to vrge and stirre the *Viceroy of Sicilia*, in hast to set forward his Navy, that then was in rigging. Therefore hee commaunded a gallie to bee with all diligence, set in a readinesse to depart towards *Sicilia*, for the conuaying of one named *Salnago*, a knight of that order, for the exploit of such matters of charge, wherewith he then commanede him. The meane time the Turkes began to erect a Mount, of intent both to batter the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, & to annoy the ships of *Malta*, as they rode in the port, that therby they might open a more safe entry for their galies that were abroad. Howbeit the fortresse of *Saint Elmo* otherwise called *S. Hermes*, so troubled them with the strokes of their great artillery, that the Turkes were faine to forsake that peece of fortification, before the same could take end, which partly

Vallum extre-
unt. Pa. 40.

and siege of *Malta*.

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partly discouraged the boldnesse of the Turks. During which time, the *Turk Ochial* with sixe ships hauing in the same nine hundred touldiers deducted, out of the garrison of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, came as a supply to the encrease of the force of the Turkes. Therefore the Turks began an other fortification vpon an higher plat of ground then before they did, whereby, not onely they wonderfully annoied, the port where the ships of *Malta* had their rodested, but also troubled with their great shot, the castle of *Saint Angelo*, and besides with entrenching they gate night the Castle of *Saint Hermes*, albeit, at the first they had muche to doe therewith, considering they of the fortresse did what they could to embar them, notwithstanding in the end the Turks with much labour and diligence wherein they excede all other nations, they accomplished their trench. Wherefore the Turks, with no little expedition, in such sort and place planted their great artillery, that they determined, both the castle of *Saint Angelo* & *Saint Michael*, should be encombered with the stroke of their Canon. This whilc, there was in the Campe of the Turks, a Spaniard, a gentleman, A fugitive. albeit a slave, he, when he had assuredly learned a part of the pretences of the Turks, gaue intelligence of the same to *Mounier Valet* the prince of *Malta* by a Christian that was a fugitiue, which when the prince understood, he sent two ensignes of Spaniards into the castle of *Saint Hermes*, vnder the leading of the valiant capitaines *Cerda* and *Miranda*, to supply a certaine want ther, which after wwas to the great detence of the castle of *Saint Hermes*, & detriment of the enimie. This sealon arived *Dorguta* the Turk, the general of *Tripolis* accompanied with thirteeone ships

Of the warres

ships and one thousand six hundred souldiers in them, after him also came tenne Brigantines, which brought two ensignes of men of war, from the towne of *Bona* in *Barbaria*, and out of the Island of *Meninges*. The meane time *Saluago* (a *Genuan* borne, a knight of the order and a very forward gentleman) who (as before) was sent into *Sicilia*, arriued at the citie of *Messana*, who (after hee had declared to the *Viceroy*, his charge, and the state wherein *Malta* was,) was commaunded to shipp himselfe againe in a barque that was prepared for him to depart, for whose safe conduction two gallies vnder the regiment of the Captaines *Corniffone* and *Santalo*, knights also of that order were commanded to accompany him; who left him not vntill hee was nigh the Island of *Malta*, and then retourned backe into *Sicilia*, but *Saluago*, not without meruailous daunger of his person, and but with losse of one of his men, passed with his ship through the middest of the enimie into the towne of *Burgo*, about three of the clocke in the morning. This while, the Turks seemed to change their devise, where they once determined to haue besieged both *Saint Hermes* and *Saint Michael*, but now encamped themielues at the water of *Marza*, beeing a fountaine there, which made the entrie of *Saluago* to be more difficult and perillous: Howbeit after *Saluago* had declared to the great Maister his charge, from the *Viceroy* of *Sicilie*, immediately the great Maister caused him to depart into *Sicilia* againe, and to shew to the *Viceroy*, that they had great neede to haue more aide of souldiers, and that for the time hee would vouchsafe to helpe them with the supplie of an other ensigne or two of chosen souldiers

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souldiers, that the better they might withstand the furie of the enemie vntill further ayde came. *Saluago* neither sparing labour, or dreading perill, immediatly gat himselfe to the sea, and in short time landed in the Port of *Sarragosa*, in *Sicilia*, where hee found those two Gallies, whereof I tould you before, and in them caused foorthwith to bee shipped (as was appoynted) foure hundred souldiors, among whom, were sundrie knights of the order of *Melita*, and with them also were sent certaine expert Gunners and Cannoners.

These so shipped, *Saluago* gaue aduise that they should eschew the West part of the Island *Melita*, and compassing about, sholdendeauor themselves to draw towards the East part thereof, and so to get vnto the South coast of the Island, and there to land at the port called *Miliare*, and from thence by night to conduct the souldiors (by places of couert,) vnto the Citie of *Melita* which from their landing place was not past foure miles distant, and so from thence easilie to get vnto the Castell of *Saint Michael*. Which aduise so giuen *Saluago* departed to *Messana*, and there shewed to the *Viceroy* the furie of the warres in *Melita*, and the great lacke of souldiors there, and required that hee might haue but a thousand foote-men besides those which hee had already sent, and than hee verilie hoped that the furie of the Turckes should for a time bee endured, vnto such time as the *Viceroy* with his nauie should giue further succour.

While these matters were putting in redinesse, which might haue had more hast, if that our Christian Princes in so weightie and daungerous causes had not seemed to haue slept too much: the third day of the moneth of

S

June,

Of the warres

The first assalt.

June, which was the holy day dedicated to saint *Hermes*, the *Turkes* sodainely went to assault the fortresse of saint *Hermes*, supposing to haue gotten by scaling of short ladders that part of a new fort which the Christians had builded ioyning nigh vnto the conterscarpt of the Castell. But the Christians with the help of a new *Casemack* made strong and large in the dike, with faggot & earth, (which before had no manner of defence there) and by the ayde of the Castell also, worthelie withstood the enemie; In such sort as that they filled the dike of the fort with the dead bodies of the *Turkes*. The *Turkes* notwithstanding (by reason of their multitude, wherewith rather than manhoode they obtaine the victories that they get) dyd meruailously stand to their marke, in such sort, as y with very force (though late at night) they dyd win that part of the fort which vieweth y port of *Mussetto*, and immediatly there, with a meruelous expedition they entrenched theselues with a new work, to the ende they might not bee endamaged by the Christians. For by the help of the *Turks* artillerie which were planted vpon the other side of *Marzamusetto* they were not a litle ayded to entrench, considering vpon that part, their Artillerie in such sort scoured, that our men durst not abide there, in that part of the fort to resist, wherwith also the corner of a bulwarke & the curtaine of that part of the fort were likewise beaten in sunder. Whereof though the height and greatnessse was very troublesome to the enemie, yet was the same little profitable to vs, because the sides thereof was not bending & crooking ynoch that thereby both the same might the better haue ben defended, and the enemie more conueniently haue beene beaten

on

and siege of Malta.

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on the flanke. But for as much as the night approched on, the *Turks* to the number of five thousand remained ther still, for about nine thousand gaue the assalt) & the Christians were compelled to retire theselues out of the fort into the fortresse, & to leauue the fort to the *Turks* that wan the same. The *Turks* through the benefit of the darknesse of the night with pokes stuffed with okam and earth, filled that part of the dike, that was vnder the ramper, that the breadth and deepenesse of the same, vpon the approach, might lesse annoy them. In this assalt, aboue eight hundred *Turkes* were slaine, whereof part were *Ianizaries*, & part of the *Spachies*, besides not a few Spachis, qui ser-
uent avec trois ou quatre che-
vaux chascun,
et aut 200 du-
cats per An, et
sont tous Aza-
moglan et es-
claux dudit
grand Turc.
that were hurt, of whom a good part remained in the dikes, halfe dead & halte alive, for that part of the dike which was filled with them, did stop both them and vs from comming to help them, considering there was no passage to them, but onely that one which was in the front of the rampire, wherfore those that so remained hurt, of very force must needs perish, when none could come to helpe them. Of vs christians at the first encounter, were slaine about xlvi, of the which were certaine knights of the order of the *Ioannits*, as *Gaurdamps* borne in *Auern* in fraunce, *Mafius* of the province of *Narbon* in france, *Contilia* a *Spaniard*, *Somatia* a *Florentine*, & *Ninecas* a *German*, & certaine wounded, as *Capeaine Motta*, who afterward dyed in the fortresse, of his hurts. The great Maister thinking requisit, as reaon was, that a supplie of soldiers should be sent to succour the fortresse, to the aide therof, immediatly he sent not onely ii C soldiours but also ii C gentlemen of his owne, that were knights of the *Ioannits*, who if they had ben moe, together with

S.ii,

the

the foure hundred that were in the castle, perhaps they might haue beaten the enemie both from the walles & the vtter forts also, & to haue defended the place longer time: But because the great Maister lacked soldiours, therfore he did send *Saluago* into *Sicilia* as before is declared, that he might obtaine but ffe hundred souldiours for the time. And in the meane season hee would abide the mallice of the enemie and to eschew no labour or perrill: Albeit he thought that he had no litle occasion to lament the infortunitie of christian Princes, that by their long stay, the apparent occasion to ouerthrow so cruell an enemie, should bee overslipt.

Howbeit hee dyd greatlie meruaile that hee heard of no manner of ayde out of *Sicilia*, nor of the two Gallies furnished with souldiours, which *Saluago* (as before) dyd send: but the Gallies thorough the fault of one of the Marriners kept not their appoynted course; For whereas they were commaunded to eschew the West part of *Melita*, and to keepe course towards the East, they dyd not so, but sayled onely towards the West vnto the *Island of Gozo*, which onely was thorough the default of the Marriner affirming that hee dyd see certaine Gallies of the *Turkes* riding in the port of *Miliare* for the defence of the same. Which (as it was after well knownen) was vtterly vntrew, whan in deede, the Marryner onely thorough feare (which oft times not a litle hindereth notable enterprises) durst procede no further. Wherby the great maister wanted his most necessarie ayde, which meruailously grieued as well the *Viceroy* and others, as chiefly *Saluago*, for they euidently dyd see, that if the *Turkes* dyd winne the fortresse of *saint Hermes*, being

being the chiefeſt hold of *Melita*, the rest of the places there not onely ſhould be brought in meruitious daunger, but alſo thoſe of the *Island Melita* ſhould bee vtterlie debarred from their entrie to haue ſuccors. It was not impoffible but that the fortrefſe might be eaſilie wonne and gotten, conſidering that the enemie had gotten one of the Bulwarks of the fortrefſe, and that the fortrefſe beeing but narrow of it ſelfe, was in manner on euerie part continually afſalted, which beeing conſidered by thoſe, that could ſkill in warres, dyd greatly mooue them, chiefely when they perceiued that ayde ſo ſecretly came. The meane time by the commaundement of *Pope Pius* the fourth of that name, certaine souldiours were gaſtered to the ende that by his example, other Princes might the better bee encouraged to giue ſuccors to the order of the *Ioannits*, and therefore hee commaunded that one hundreth pound of golde ſhould bee giuen to *Cambiano*, Lieuetenant of that order in Rome, and cer- taine furniture of pouder to bee deliuered to him out of the Caſtall of ſaint *Angele* at Rome, that nothing ſhould on his part ſeeme to want, that poſſiblie he could doe. For, vnto his holynesse souldiours, which were in number ſixt hundereth, hee appoynted *Pompeio Colono* to bee Captaine, and *Camillo Medices* to bee Lieuetenant. After this bande, followed manie voluntarie souldiours that both vowed themſelues to ſerue in ſo holie a cauſe, and alſo to winne immortall fame, proceeding with ſuch ardent and couragious mindes, that euery little stay, ſeemed to them to be an whole yeere.

Therefore they departing vnto *Naples*, found there *Ioan Andrew Auria*, with a leauen long ſhippes, and the
S.iii. Prince.

Of the warres

Prince of *Populonia* with nine, *Lanicio Pronano* with three, and so many other that were rigged foorth at the charges of other priuate persons. Into these ships that came from *Rome*, all the bandes of footemen there, were shipt and carried ouer into *Sicilia*, to the Citie of *Messina*, where the kings nauie was in riging.

While that the Christians, considered not that the perill was so great as it was in deede. The *Turks* not ignorant of the same, determined to proue the vttermost, beforre that the powers of the Christians should augmient, thinking that if they could get the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, the rest were easily to be had, first thereby they should be onely maisters of *Porto Masetto*, wherby they should gaine a safe and sure rodested for their nauie, so long as they liked. Besides, to haue all that peece of land, betwixt the two ports, both for the beating of the fortresse of *Saint Michael*, and that no ship should enter, or goe forth out of the hauen of *Porto Mure*, without their leaue. These things and others, when the *Turks* had pondered, they beeganne to giue a terrible batterie to the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, in such sort, as the great artillerie seased not to thunder by the space of foure daies continually. The next night after, the *Turks* sodainlie assaltd the breach with ladders, and almost had gained the toppe of the curtaine, when as our Christians desiring nothing more then to come to hand strokes, couragiouslie gaue charge on them, that in the end the *Turks*, were in such sort repulid, that neuer after (vntill they wanne the fortresse) they durst rayse a ladder against the same:

While

and siege of *Malta*.

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While on this side these matters were in dooing, the souldiours of the *Turke Dorguta*, puffed vp with a certayne pride, as though they would seeme to exceede the rest, gathered themselues together at *Martia Scala*, beeing a little baie, beettwixt the place of execution and the rodested of *Saint Thomas*, whom whan the garrison of *Borgo* perceiued, they immeidatly issud, and so horte handeled them, that after the killing of a great number of them, the rest of those *Turks* were compelled to retire from whence they came.

In which conflict was slaine *Bonnemio* a gentleman of Fraunce a knight of the order of the *Ioannits*, with seauen others.

At that tyme, *Monserrato* was sent into the castle of *Saint Hermes*, to bee Captaine there in the place of *Brolio*, who befoore, there was Captaine, and thorough his intollerable watchinges and trauayles, about his charge, was fallen verie sicke. Which *Brolio* oft times befoore did write to the great Maister that the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, was in such sort fortified and furnished, with euery thing thereunto appertaining, that hee thought that it was in manner impossible that the enimie should get it, for the knights of the *Ioannits* and others that there serued, tooke such encouragement by his worthy exhortacions, that comming to hand strokes they fought it forth aboue all mens expectation, nor the *Turks* though they had these repulses, left off so, but beegan a new batterie with their artillerie by the space of certaine daies, and assaltd most furiously the fortresse, with all the ingins that they could devise.

Among

A Bridge
of mastes. Among which they had inuented a meruailous bridge framed vpon mastes, of such a breadth that tenne persons might easilly fight on front thereupon, and of such a length, that it ouer-reached the dike and rested vpon the cortaine of the fortresse: Besides they placed foure thousand harquebusars alongst the dike, to beate the top of the Cortaines that none within should approch to the defence thereof, and than caused all their nauie to come neerer the shore of Saint Georgis port in landing theyr whole force.

And whan as by the space of eightene dayes they had battered this poore fortresse, and had cruelly rent the bulwarks and Cortains thereof with thirteene thousand shot, and in assured hope to haue wonne the fortresse. Beeholde one *Baragamo* a *Biscayan* borne, one of the order of the *Ioannits*, accompanied with Captaine *Medrano* a *Spaniard*, and sundrie other valiaunt seruitures repayred to this dreadfull Bridge, and to the great meruaile of all that dyd see them, there incountred the Turkes.

The death of
Medrano and
Baragamo. The fight on both sides was meruailous vehement, and in such sort the *Turkes* manfullie beeaued themselves that they had planted one of their Ensignes vpon a Bulwarke there, which when as Captaine *Medrano*, had worthilie bereft, and held in his hands, and departing therewith, both hee and *Baragamo*, with the shot of harquebuses were slaine. At that time those three hundred souldiors whereof I told you beefore, which were sent thether from the great Maister, shewed themselues, in dooing notable seruice: For so soone as they perceiued the fortresse to consist in that apparent daunger,

some

some of them hurled wilde fire vpon the bridge, some burning pitch and brimstone, another sort of them tumbled mighty great stones vpon such as would haue entred, another part of them, kept the enimie occupied with continuall shot, that they durst not come nigher.

The bridge of
Masts, burnt.

So that after a dreadfull fight this new devised bridge of the *Turks* was buitn in sunder, & with the ruine ther-of perished eight hundred *Turks*, the remnant, so well as they could (whereof few escaped vnhurt, and the most part very sore wounded,) retired to their shames, leaving behinde them whether they woulde or no, two of the chiefeſt enſignes they had, the one pertaining to *Mustapha*, the other to *Dorgutes*, which our Christians to the great grieſe of the *Turkes*, fixed vpon the height of the *Cortaine*. During this cruell affaſt vpon the one ſide, the *Turkes* vpon the South West part of the fortrefſe, gane another vehement charge, in ſuch ſort, as they had wonne the *Vapmure* of the tame, which when the garrison that remained in the Castle of *Saint Angelo* did perceiue, and thinking that with their artillery they were able to drive the *Turkes* from the place which they had gotten, they vnbended at the *Turkes*, a great peece of artillerie, and in ſteede of them, taking one for an other, ſeauen of our Christians, beeing on the *Ramper* of the fortrefſe, were pitifully ſlaine, which when they had perceiued, and to amend their former errour, they cauſed another great peece to bee blowen off, with the ſtroke whereof, were torne in peeces foure of the *Turkes* moſt notable Capitaines, and twelue other of their beſt and hardieſt ſouldiers, that the *Turks* had. While thus furiously that the fight continued, the

T.

Turks

Of the warres

Turkes entrenched vpon that part of the fortresse of Saint *Hermes* which is towardes the Castle of *Saint Angelo*. But our men espying their dooing, with pots filled with wilde fire and burning pitch, hurled among them, caused the *Turkes* right soone to depart. The *Turkes* (thus beeinge expulst by the valiant hardinesse of our Christians) retourned carefullie, into thoir campes leauing beehinde them dead in this teble assault about two thousand of their souldiers, where two hundred of our men were slaine, & as many hurt. In the day of this assault the great Maister espying oportunitie caused a foist to bee prepared, and to bee had ouer a pece of a ground vnto *Martia Scala*, and one therein with certayne Marriners to passe into *Sicilia*, with letters to enforne the *Viceroy*, and the *Popes* holynesse also, of the manfull defence of the fortresse of *Saint Hermess*, and in what extreame danger, the same remained except speedie aide and succour, were given to the same: the tenor of which letters written to the *Viceroy*, is as followeth, hauing of purpose thought conuenient not to set forth vnto you the contents of the *Popes* letters, when as the effect of both the letters being one, the rehearsal of the letters of the *Viceroy* may well enough suffice.

To Dom *Gorza de Toledo* Viceroy of Sicill and High Admirall of the Kings Naue; most
excellente and bantie greeting.

Sithens *Saltigo* departed hence, I have sent vnto your Grace three seuerall letters, whiche were conuict through

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through the circie of *Malta*, vnto the handes of God, which I would of god, that they had come to your handes. But after, perceiving that neither messenger nor yet letters came from you, I commanded one of my men with certayne letters, to be put in rediness to depart vnto you, vnto *Messina*, who after that hee had produced to get foorth, sundry nights, and at last escaped, hee had not fully passed two miles on the sea, when hee was espied by the *Turkes* Nauie; that is all hath made eowardes him, which when my messenger practised with all the speede hee could, retired frō þe battell, departed, and so ranne his ship on land, and with the boord of his letters hurled into the sea, sauēd himselfe and his company from the handes of the *Turkes*.

Albeit perceiving now, that the *Turkes* haue brought their Nauie out of the Part of *Vulturno*, and thinking with my selfe, how much it is requisite that your Grace shold haue intelligence of matters heere already passed, I haue therefore caused a foist to bee set in rediness at *Martia Scala*, while the *Turkes* were occupied vpon an other part of this Iland, so as now I hope these my letters may shorlye and with safetie come vnto your handes. But what I haue thought conuenient, your Grace shold understand, are these. The fifteenth day of this monthe, the whole Nauie of the *Turkes*, about night passed this port, and because the night was darke, wee could not perceiue the inconuenience of their nauie, for we learned so much after that their galles though they were left in manner vnarmid, they could not well bee towed from the place they had them,

T.ii.

and chiefly for lacke of water, they were enforced to departe from the port of *Vulturno*, and perhaps the feare of your Nauie, which they vnderstoode (as I was enformed) to be a hundred and fiftie ships riding at an ancre in the port of *Messana*, was likewise the cause that they would not ride in the port of *Saint Paul*, but planted their ships aboue *Porto Musetto*, and a good part of their gallies at *Saint Georges*, howbeit their ships & gallies are not so farre in funder, but if your Graces nauie should come at the sydden, in the feare that they are in, they would make spedee, a pace to their nauie, if they were further off distant. At the port of *Vulturno*, appeareth not one *Turcke*, as for their first encamping places at *Saint Katherines*, and *Saint Johns*, after the burning of the villages, they haue forsaken : and now the *Turkes* haue their nauie riding, whereas I tolde you, and their army on land lieng before the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, which as almighty God hath hetherto defended, so I hope, he will still conserue the same, and the more it is to bee hoped, in that (as yesterday) it so came to passe, that after a most furious assalt continued by the *Turkes*, by the space of four hours, with four charges giuen, and valiantly sustained by our worthy souldiours, with the ouerthrow of a bridge, which the *Turkes* had planted ouer the dike of the fortresse, the *Turkes* had the repulse not without some losse of our Christians, where among others Captaine *Medrano*, (to my great care) was slaine: with this victory our christians are so incouraged, that I hope with Gods helpe, the fortresse (vntill your Graces comming) may bee defended, chieflie, in that the enimie hath partly diminished the feruent

feruent heat of their vsuall shot of their great artillerie, so as if I had now any aide or supplie of souldiers from your Grace, or mine owne two gallies that are with you, furnished with souldiours, I am in assured hope that the enimie should never get the fortresse from me, for the defence whereof, while I loke every houre for succour, both the souldiours and municions, whiche I had, in maner are consumed, determining not the lesse, with that little number which is left, to continue in the defence thereof, though it should cost vs all our liues, vntill such time your Grace shall send aide, who (as wee assuredly hope) for the pietie and famous vertue in your Grace remayning, you would not forget vs in this distresse, but rather your Grace considering the great danger that we are in, (which must needes be the ruine of vs all, if you deser any longer,) you will help vs out of hand, with some supplie of souldiours, where so easilie you may now send them, for the *Turkes* are departed from the East part of this Iland, so as those which you will send may without any perill land at a place in this Iland called *Saxa Nigra*. In your Grace (after Almighty God) is situated our health or hope, therefore wee most hartely beseech your Grace, forsake vs not in our imminent dangers, for vnto your approued wise dome & pietie, we commit all that we haue, and so fare your Grace most hartely well. From *Malta* this seauenteene of June.

The Viceroy having received these letters, and considering the great daunger, of the besieged fortresse, was as it appertained wonderfully moued therewith, and shewed a meruailous desire to set forward the kings
T.iii. whole

whole nauie against the *Turks*, howbeit because the ships that should come unto him from *Geanes*, was at that time not arrived, it was thought expedient, that his Grace should not aduenture to fight with the *Turkes* yntill their comming: therefore it pleased his Grace to send *Signore Giovanini Cardono*, with foure long shippes called *Galliaceis*, of the which two pertayned to the knyghts of *Malta*. Vnto *Cardono* the *Knygny* ioyned a gentleman called *Robles*, with an ensigne of *Spaniards*, beeing chosen souldiers. There were shipped also, with these about foure score knyghts of the order of the *Ioannits*, that onely at *Messana*, tarried for passage into *Malta*, among these of the order of the *Ioannits*, were *Signore Parisoto* the nephew of the great master of *Malta*, *Vincentio Garaffa*, *Boninsegna*, and *Maldonado*, both *Spaniards*, *Centio Aquitano* and others, who though through tempests and foule weather, they came not tyme enough to the Island of *Malta*, as was desired, yet their comming was a meruaylous great helpe to the other Christians. Which new supplie if the same had come beefore the losse of the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, perhaps therewith the fortresse might haue ben saved. These foure *Galliaceis* departed from *Messana* the sequententh of *June*. But the *Turks*, the meane time (not caring for their great losse of souldiers, no more then they had ben beasts gone to the slaughter house, determined desperately to renew their fight,) began their furious batterie againe, with the great artillerie, continuing the same, both day and night, vnto such tyme as such breaches were made, as conuenientlie were to assault, then the *Turkes* gaue so furious a charge with such a multitude,

multitude, and courage therewith, that vnlesse the most valiaunt vertues of the defenders, ioyned with contempt of death, and hope of immortall glory, had had the superioritie of the apparaunt terror: truelie, the *Turkes* had either put our Christians to flight, or else to haue compelled them to yeeld willingly the fortresse. Right hot was the fight on each side, in such sort, that both parts seemed to bee so desperate in fight, the one to win the fortresse, & the other to defend the same, that it appeared that day would haue giuen end to those wars: ffeue houres it was furiously fought, so that in the end the *Turks* through the worthinesse of our christians were repulsed, howbeit the *Turks* the night following rested not, but still beat at the fortresse with their great artillery, that therwith the curtaines being so torme & rent, our christians had much a doe to stop the enemie from scaling, abundance whereof our christians had theriaulous prouid. In this terrible conflict, were slaine of the side of the christians two hundred, &c of the *Turks* part, an innuerurable sort, among whom the famous *Pirat Dorguta*, while he executed no lesse the parr of a prudent captaine, then also the function of a worthy souldier, through the stroke vpon his head with a great stone at this assalt, was wounded to death, and so within two daies after died, and his dead body from thence, honourablie, was transported to *Tripolis* in *Barbaria*. But with this worthie constancie, and valiaunt acts of our Christians, the Capitaines of the *Turkes* (beeing made more furious and raging, then beefore they were) collected all their Nauie into one place, and commaunded that the fortresse on ebery side, both by land & sea, should be assalted and

The famous
pirat Dorguta
wounded to
death.

Of the warres

and that ever fresh souldiers should continually be sent, vntill the fortresse were wonne by assault. Therfore the Turks immediatlie capfed, both bridges, ladders, ingins, weapon & other necessaries meet for the assault, to be with all diligence put in readines which when Mounser Valet being then in the castle of Saint Angelo perceiued, fearing (as reason was) that the fortresse was not able to abide & beare the furious charge that was in preparing against the same, theretore about two daies before this last assault, hee called together the counsaile of the order of the Ioannits, shewing them, that they all did perceiue, so well as hee, in what meruailous daunger, those restid, that were defenders of the fortresse, nor he doubted but that euery of them, for the pietie, & Godly harts in them remaining, had no little compassion of the perill of the rest of their bretheren, and other worthie souldiours, there yet remaining, no less then if the cases of the defenders were their owne, and therefore required, to shew their best aduise, what were reauisit for the safegard of such valiant persons. The maister being throughly considered, the counsell gaue immediate resolution, that for somuch as the fortresse no longer could bee kept, that the liues of the defenders should be fauied, and that for the bringing awaie of the defenders, twelve foists should be sent. For which cause there was elected, three knights of the order, that they in the night following should passe ouer to the fortresse and not onely to declare to the defenders, the determination of the great Maister and counsell, but also to suruey, in what state every thing in the fortresse were, after so many cruell assaults suffered, and that, if there were

The counsell
of the Ioannits

The sentence
of the coun-
sel.

and siege of Malta.

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were cause, to forsake the fortresse, then the waters ther to be poisoned, and the whole artillerie, to be cloied vp with nailes. For executing of which embassade foorth with departed Medina a spaniard, Rocca a frenchman, & Constantino Castriona an Italian, not without meruailous danger of their persons, considering the Turks espying the, charged at them sundry shot of the harquebuze, & after their ariuall in the fortresse, they exprested to the defenders, the pleasure & determinacio of the great maister & counsell of the order. The defenders vnderstanding, ^{The answere} the great care & thought, that the great Maister & counsell ^{of the worthe} had for their safetie, most humbly gaue thanks to them all, for the same. Then so much as concerned the estate of the fortres, if the straitnes therof, the small number of the defenders, & the great number of the enimie, shoule be considered, truely the fortresse were in meruailous daunger, chiefly in that the enimie was purposed to giue of new another desperate assalt, howbeit insomuch as hetherto, they had tastid of the mercifull aide of almighty God, that vnto that time had defended them, from the rabious furie of so terrible an enemy, in that the place as they thought was defensable, with munition inough, there yet remaining, and that chiefly they had required of the great Maister the honour of the charge in defending of the peece or place if they knew all to loose their liues, they intended to defend the fortresse, to the death, perhaps such occasion of most honourable defence, neuer would come to them againe, therefore they were vtterly determined to spend their liues, for the glory of almighty God, and his holie religion.

V.

The

Of the warres

"The race and course of this brittle life is but short, but the glo-
"ry of eternall life, is perpetuall. And considering that to
each one there is an appointed death, it is to be desired
of every good man, that this life of ours beeing subiect
to casualties, might rather be emploied about the seruice
of Almighty God, and his common wealth, than to be
referued to the extremitie of olde age. And if their chace
should be that there were none other way but to dye,
they hoped to leaue such victory to the enemie, that the
joy and pleasure, which they would gaine therby, should
cost them the best blood that remained in the worthi-
est Soldiours that the Turks than had. And therfore they
required the messengers to shew to the great Maister,
what they had vowed, and to continue his good opinion
in them, as pertained to haue, in worthie Seruitures : &
chiefely of such as had given themselves to that order
of Knighthood.

The three Messengers hauing thus receaued the de-
fenders answere, containing greater courage than good
hap, returned to the great Maister, who calling again the
Counsaile together, & hearing the valiant answere of the
defendours, was likewise desirous to heare the opiniōs of
the messengers, *Castriona* was of opinion, that insomuch
as the defendours were yet Maisters of the dikes, the for-
tres might be kept, & that he *Castriona*, (if he were com-
maeded) would take the defēce of the Fortres in charge,
and that rather he would lose his life, than to forsake the
place. But *Rocca* the French man was of contrary minde,
saying, that he verely beleued, the Fortres was not able
to be kept, if *Julius Caesar* were on liue, & had the defence
therot, & saw to what extremities, the place was broughte
vnto,

and siege of Malta.

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vnto, & that euery Bulwark ther for the most part, rent in
sunder by the enemis artillery, & hurled downe, & com-
passed with such number of desperate enemies; he would
neuer suffer, that the liues of so many worthie soldiours
should through inconsideration partinacie, haue end, but
rather to fortake the place, and to reserue the liues of so
many valiant Seruitures for other places of greater im-
portance. It is a valiant & worthie mans part, to doe that
which a man may doe, and not to stretch beyond that,
which a man cannot doe. And, that to be done, which as
he thought, was vsed to be considered in diseased mem-
bres incurable in mans body: that for the safegard of the
life & the rest of the whole bodie, it was meet the incur-
able member to be cut away, and not to care of the losse
therof.

The Spaniard agreeing in opinion with *Castriona*,
thought conuenient, that the place should not be for-
saken; for that the dikes and Rampes of the Fortres
for the most part were yet not beaten in sunder, and
that a meruailous vnitie of mynde was resident in the
defendours, ioyned with a liuely courage and desire
to come to hand strokes with the enemie, which in
manner promised an assured victorie to the defendours.

The severall opinions of these three Messengers be-
ing throughly considered, it was thought good, by the
most part of the Counsaile, that the defenders should
continue in their charge for certaine dayes: For that
it was neuer the vsage of that order, to forsake with
ease such places, as once were committed to their gard:
but rather to continue in defēce of the same to the death;

V.i.

to

Of the warres

to thend that the barbarous enemie might vnderstand, with what kinde of men he had to doe, to the repressing of his temerarious arrogance and pride: Least, in forlaking the place, the enemie would perhaps think it were done through feare. Whereby the courage of the enemie would encrease, and the auncient honour and estimation of this sacred order would abate.

The *Turks* this while, minding to put in effect, which they before determined, the threec and twentieth of *June*, with their whole Armies both by land and sea, about mydnight, assalted cruelly the Fortres on all sides, erecting their ladders, bridges, and other Ingins meet for that purpose. First vnbending at once two and thirtie great Cannons, that with the furious strokes thereof, that which remained vp of the fortificacions, were utterly throwen downe. The Christians on thother side manfully stode to theyr defence, some they ouerthrew into the dikes, some they repulsed, & some they slew, but a great deale being more couragious, to vround & annoy the enemie than to looke to their owne safetie: insomuch vwhere the greatest concourse and thrust of the enemie vvas, there vvere the Christians ever ready to shew theyr force and prowesse. The noyse of each side vvas great, mixed with vehement exortations, ioies and mournings: the face & countenance of the fight vvas variable, ambiguous, incertain, horrible, and pitiful to behold. Thus it vvas foughten vnto three of the clock, vvhian yet vvas doubted to vwhat part the victorie vwould encline. And except the *Turks* had begun againe furiously to vnbend continually their great Artillerie, (vvh hereby they ouerthrew all the Curtains
and

The last assault
givuen by the
Turks to the
castle of Saint
Hermes.

and siege of Malta.

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and Bulwarks vnto the hard Rock vvhерon the Christians stode:) the Christians might vwell ynough haue sustained for a few daies more, the furie of the enemie, but the Rock thus made naked bothe of the defendours and vwalls, and more than foure hundred of the garrison slaine, rested nothing vp, scarce that could hide the head of the Souldiour: So as none, could once mount or shew himselfe, to stand to the defencē, but immediately he vvas torne in peeces vvithe the shot of the Canon, that neuer ceased. And now *Monserrato* the Generall of the Fortres, together vvithe one *Garas*, ruler of *Eubaea*, vvithe one bullet vvere miserably slaine together, gentlemen of like vertue, pietie, and vorthinesse, vwho for this short lyfe, and most honorable behauisour in the same, haue now together gained eternall glorie. Neuerthelesse, the other, that remained on liue, and that stode manfully to their charge, nothing discouraged vvithe the losse and slaughter of their compaignons, but rather as such as seemed to haue receaved new force and strength out of Heauen, they encountered the enimie most couragiouly, in tearing and rending the Ensignes, vvhich the *Turks* had fastened vpon the Fortres, and killing the Ensignebearers, Captaunes and others, of the chiefest of the enemie. So that the Christians looked for none other thing than to give vp theyr lyues, for the Religion of Christ, to obtaine eternall lyfe.

Now the Sunne in his race, had ascended the middest of the Heauens, vvh hereby vvas such raging heate, vweariness, and continual thundering of Artillerie; again the multitude of the enimies so great, that still sent

V.ij.

fresh

fresh men to renew the assalt. On the other part, the little number of our Christianes left on liue, weakened with meruailous labour, watchinge, drought, & wounds. The *Turkes* at last gayned by force the fortresse of Saint *Hermes*, but with such an incredible losse of their soldiours that it was wonderfull that so great a multitude of the *Turkes*, could bee slaine by so little a number of the Christians: thus our Christians valiauntlie fighting were euery one slaine.

Heere I cannot let p.sle. to touch the vnmercifull crueltie of these *Turkes*, exercised against the knights of the order of the *Ioannits*, whereby one may understand, of what nature & propertie *Crueltie* is of, which euer sheweth, what will it hath still to reuenge, when the death of the person cannot suffice. For after th. winning of the fortres, the *Turkes* finding there, certaine knights of the order, beetwixt death and life, caused most cruelly their harts to be cut out of their breasts, & their bodies inuested with their scarlet cassocks, & white crosses (for that the knights of the order of the *Ioannits*, in warres doe euer weare scarlet, & in peace black) to bee hanged vp by the feet to the number of a thirtie of them, in the sight of the Castles of Saint *Angelo*, & Saint *Michael*, but when this beastly crueltie seemed not to be enough to *Mustapha*, he also caused these dead bodies to bee tyed together, and to bee hurled into the sea, howbeit the sea being moued as it were with greater mercie, then was in the *Turks*, the next day after did cast the dead bodies fletting into *Porto Maiori*, where the great Maister knowing who they were commanded that the corses should be taken vp, and buried honorably, with no litle lamentation made for them.

In

In such sort that the great Maister straigthe commanded that from thenceforth no *Turkes* shuld be taken, but immediatlie to be slaine, whereby such as alreadewe were taken, by and by were put to death, and their heads throwen ouer the walles. From the beginning of the siege, vnto the winning of the fortresse of Saint *Hermes*, there were slaine of that garrison, the number of a thousand three hundred persons of the which there were a hundred & thirtie knights of the order of the *Ioannits*. The great Maister *Valet*, having thus lost the fortresse of Saint *Hermes*, though he had (as reason was) a carefull hart, yet in dissembling the same, hee shewed outwardlie a good countenance, to the end, that hee should not discourage the rest of his soldiours. Saying that nothing hath chanced but that almighty God hath prouided the same, for such is the fortune of wars, and the will of God, that sometime one, and sometime another, may suffer ouerthrow. It is onely cowardnesse and not the worthie vertue, and immortall courage of these valiant seruitors, beeing dead, that should cause vs to make care and mourning, nor, for all this the enimie ought so much to bee dreaded, considering his losse in deed, that rather it seemeth hee should accompt himselfe to haue receiued the ouerthrow then to bee named victorious. And as to such of our christians as are dead in this worthie seruice, let vs firmly beleue, that they are recompenced with glory & immortallitie in the kingdome of heauen, which ought to enflame the harts of euery good man, to serue as they haue done, & as for himselfe, hee had not yet laied aside his hope of assured victorie to bee gotten of the rest of the enimies, rather

rather by the help of almighty God, then by his owne power; and that hee supposed, all there being present, to be of like minde, and so to be and continue, hee required them. These words beeing spoken, the great Maister being readie against all extremities of *Fortune*, departed from the rest, and after much deuiling with himselfe alone, he determined with himselfe in the end to write to *Petro Mesquito* generall of the ciarie of *Malta*, and to aduertise him, and the bretheren of the *Ioannits* at *Messana*, together with the *Viceroy*, of the losse of the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*. The copie of whose letters I haue thought expedient to discribe to you, to the end that the meruailous prouidence of *Valet* the prince of this order of the *Ioannits*, may the more appeare vnto you, which is as followeth.

The letter of
the great Mai-
ster to Mes-
quito.

Dring such time as the knights of the order, abiding at *Messana*, are preparing their passage hether, the miserable ouerthrow and taking of the fortresse of *Saint Hermes* hath chanced, which as you ought to know, hath left vnto mee no little care, so I assuredly thinke, the lame hath fortuned, not without the secret permission of almighty God, which I take in such good part, that rather the father of Heauen will correct vs by this losse, then vtterly to suffer vs to perish. And albeit in mine opinion, it is not requisit, to doubt any wise of his mercifull goodnessse and mightie power. Yet I cannot but complaine that it hath seemed, I haue beene forsaken of thone, that shoulde not haue becommed them so to haue done, that in the space of seauen and thirtie daies, wherin our most worthie Christians now dead, susteyned such

furious

furious charges of the enimie, (as rather a meruailous matter done by God, then man,) of our owne (who of duetie ought to haue regarded vs) wee haue beene succoured with no manner of aide, which sundry times in this space, they daight haue done, howbee it as I perceiue, we must hope no longer of mans help, considering that neither our letters, diligence, earnest requests, admonicions, or commandements, can in any wile take place with them, whom duety rather ought to haue moued to obedience, then negligence to haue staied them all this while. Lacke of time will not permit me, to write as I would to the *Viceroy*, but rather your part shalbe, to give intelligence as well to his gracie, as to others our bretheren there of the occurrans of this Island. Which our bretheren, if they had obeyed our commandements as haſt appertained, or elſe had ſent vs any aide at all, perhaps we had not lost the fortresse of *Saint Hermes*, about the defence wherof, so valiant & worthy servitudes as euer liued, haue lost their liues therin. Wherefore except the *Viceroy* make haſt to deliuere vs, I feare hee shall come to late to doe vs good, chierely if we be besieged, before we haue the litle succours, which as I dreame, are in coming to vs, & as I feare scarce will come in time. Nevertheleſſe we doe not mistrust of the loue & prouidence of almighty God towards vs, but that the deuine vertue of the *Viceroy*, within few houres, to be moued & stirred vp by the holy ghost, will with speede deliuere vs. The meane time, the enemies hath gotten together all their nauie into the port of *Musetto*, & are very diligent in purging of the places of the fortresse, & reedieng of the tampons & bulwarks which with the strokes of their

artillerie they did cast downe. Therefore vpon the sight
heereof, I require you to send to vs, the captaines *Catharinensis*, *Belcarensis*, *Belmestio*, and *Zoric*, with their bands,
that in our necessities, we may vse their faithfull and
valiaunt endeauours. So requiring of God to send vs aide
from some place, fare you hartely well. From the ca-
stle of *Saint Angelo* the fourt and twentieth day of *June*.

MEsquita the generall of the Citio of *Malta*, after
that hee had read the letters of the great Maister
immediately caused a foist to be rigg'd to the sea, & in the
same sent one *Masio Cordonella*, to whom hee gaue both
the great Maisters letters to him sent, and also other
letters of his owne of like effect directed to the knyghts
of the order of the *Ioannits* remayning at *Messina*, re-
quiring *Masio* with all the hast hee could, to passe into
Sicilia. The meane time, *Mustapha Bassa* sent a messenger to
Mounsier Valet, and with him an old *Spaniard*, a prisoner
to the which prisoner *Mustapha* promised libertie vpon
condition that he would goe to *Borgo* with his messenger,
commanding them both that they should practise with
Mounsier Valet to yeeld himselfe, and the whole Island vp-
on any reasonable appointment. Who after they had arived
at the towne, the *Turk* remained without, & the christien entred in & was brought to the prince, to whom he
disclosed the charge & commandement to him giuen by
Mustapha. When *Mounsier Valet* heard the *Spaniard* once
name appointment & yelding, he began to enter into such
a choler, that if he had not beeene a christien man, he had
commanded him immediatly to haue ben hanged, there-
fore he gaue the *Spaniard* choise, whether he would carry
still

still among the Christians in *Borgo*, or else immediatly to
depart, & to tell to the *Turke* that came with him, except
he did get him away in hast, he would cause the artillerie
of the castle to constraine him to speed him away. The
Turke with this answere retourned to the campe, where-
with *Mustapha* fell in such a rage, that hee openly sayde
that from thenceforth hee would vse all the crueltie that
hee could against the Christians. At this time with *Mus- Philip a Turk
tapha* was a gentleman named *Philip*, discended of the
noble familie of the *Lascars* in *Greece*, who at such time
as hee was a childe, was taken by the Christians, when
as they wonne the towne of *Patros* in *Achaia*.

During which time, that hee was a prisoner, hee
was so curteously vsed by them, that euer after hee bare
meruailous affection and good will, towards Christians.
This *Philip* beeing priuie to sundry counsailes of *Musta- Philip a Turk
phua*, (moued as it seemed by deuine inspiration from
Heauen) thought that hee might meruailouslie aide and
profit the Christians, if hee should come to them, and
therfore determined with himselfe to passe to the fortres
of *Saint Michaell*.

Which as hee prooued many times to doe, so in
the ende in the Calends of *July*, hee did cast himselfe
into the sea (considering hee could not get to the ca-
stle by land) and so did swimme to the castle, not with-
out great daunger of his life, for he being espied by the
Turkes he was shot at, with sundry arrowes and arquebus-
les. Vpon his landing, he was immediatly brought to the
great Maister, to whom not onely he discouered sundrie
counselfs of the enimie, but also shewed, what ought to
bee done at a corner of the fortresse of *Saint Michaell*,

Philip a Turk
a noble man
reuoleted and
came to the
Christians.

to the end to make frustrate certain deuises of the enemies, which they purposed to practise against that place, and of sundry other things which afterward turned to much commoditie of the christians. Who also, as opportunity serued, right valiantly, after, fought against the Turks: So as, that after the siege, and *Malta* being delivered, he repaired to *Rome*, with meruailous commendacion of the great Maister, where the Popes holinesse courteously entertained him, and for his vertue and good seruice done aswell towards those of *Malta*, as towards vvhole Christendome, he rewarded him vwith sundry guifts. Where likewise, he dyd forsake his *Turkis* taith, vvhilein he vvas brought vp, vitterly detesting the same, and from *Rome* he repaired to King *Philip*, to vwhose Maiestie he discouered likewise certaine pretences of *Soliman* the Emperour of the *Turks*.

While these things (as aboue) vvere done, *Colonello* (of vvhom before, as I shewed you, that vvas sent into *Sicilia*) arived safe at *Messana*, vwher he found the Christian Nauie not as yet readie, so that the afflicted affaires of *Malta* could not out of hand be succoured. For neither the ships that should come out of *Spaine* vvere than come, nor yet *Gouanni Andrea Auria*, vvhich his eight & twentie Galliaceis, vwho staied to enbarque foure thousand footemen, vnder the leading of *Capino Vitellio*, that vvere collected in *Etruria*.

The knights of the order at *Messana* considering this tedious tarieng, and vwhat perill vwould ensue vpon longer stae, fully determined vwith Gods helpe, to succour their bretheren of the order in *Malta*.

And vwith such power as they had gotten togethers,
vnder

vnder the leading of two notable gentlemen, knights of the *Ioannits*, the one of the houle of *Messana*, & the other of *Biroletto*; they purposed to passe into *Malta*. Albeit before their departure, they repaired to the Vice-roy: & in consulting vwith him, they required his Grace, to call to memory vwhat seruice the knights of the *Ioannits* had done, not onely for the King of *Hispain*, but for all Christendome; and vwhat charges the *Ioannits* vvere at the other yeere, at the vwinning of *Pinon de Belles*, vvhile they neither spared victual, artillerie, or ships, nor yet theyr owne proper liues, vvhile theyr seruice might either profit the Kings highnesse, or any part of the Christian common vwealth. And besides this, that he vwould vouchsafe to consider vwith himselfe, that the losse of the lland *Malta*, not onely should touch the *Ioannits*, but vniuersall *Italy*, and chietely the lland of *Sicilia*; by reason it should be a neighbour to so mightie an enimie as the *Turk*.

For vwhich causes and others, that shortnesse of time prohibith to report, they required of him foure thousand footemen, vvhile vvhile all the knights there, of the order of the *Ioannits*, accompanied also vwith sundry noble personages and other voluntary soldiors, vwould passe ouer into *Malta*, to succour their bretheren there: vvhile vwhich supply, they sayd they assuredly hoped, if at the least, they could not repulse the enimie or vvinne againe the lost Fortres, yet to stay the further proceedings and pretences of the furious enimie, vnto such tyme as the vvhole Christian Nauie beeing in a redinesse might inuade the *Turkis* Fleet, and also (as they trusted) vitterly to destroy the same.

Of the warres

Vpon these words, vwhile the Vice Roy, deliberated with himselfe vwhat he shold doe, there came a messenger out of Hispania, but vwhat the effect of his letters vvas, vwhich he brought, though some iudged one vway and some an other, none certainly could tell: but so it came to passe, that through his comming, the Vice Roy gaue a briefe answere to the Ioannits, saying, that he could not satisfie their request, considering the same vvere an vter vweakening & diminishing of the force of the kings nauie, vwherby it shold come to passe in so doing as they requested; that he could not giue them such succors, as shortly he pretended to doe. Howbeit if they vwould transport all the Ioannits that were at Messana (vwith a part of the souldiors vwhich the Popes holinesse sent) into Malta, in those two Galleaceis vwhich they had prepared, hee himselfe vwould furnish an other Galliae to bee sent vwith them.

The knights hauing receaued this determined answer, vvhian as they otherwise could not amend themselues, they tooke the offer of the Vice Roy. While these ships vvere making readie to depart, the foure ships vwhereof before I made mencion, vwhich transported the 600 Soldiours, & foure score knights of the Ioannits, by the space of twentie dayes vvere on the Seas, tossed vwith meruailous tempests, & other stops and staies, that they could not attaine to Malta. And chiefly they had comauement giuen them, they shold not land, except they knew certainly that the Fortres of Sainct Hermes, vvere still in possession of the christians. But approaching to Malta, they lent their spiall on land, & promised him, to tarry on the Sea, vnto the next day for his retorne.

The

and siege of Malta.

78

The meane tyme the Seas by tempestuous vweather began so to grow, that the Spiall could not retorne at his appointed tyme. Wherefore the shippes that dyd abide him, dreaded that either he was perished in the tempest, or else come into the enimies hands. Wherby, they sayled back to Pozalo, a place on the coast of Sicilia, to the ende to learne somewhat there, of the state of Malta. Where, vpon their arriuall they certaintly dyd know, that the Fortres of Sainct Hermes was yet vngotten by the Turks. Which whan they had learned, they departed to the seas againe.

But comming within sixe miles of Malta, wher at their place determined, they were apointed to land, they spid a fier from land, as a signe made vnto them, wherby they judged, both that their former Espiall was taken by the enemie, & that some Ambush was there layed for them. Wherupon they retourned to Pozalo againe, at which place, they learned of one of the Knights of the Ioannits, a French man, that came out of Malta, of purpose to them, that the forenamed fire by his commandement was made, that they being instructed by that signe, might safely proceede to their landing place in Malta. Vpon the vnderstanding whereof, they all with speede dyd get them to the Seas againe, and sailed to Malta, where at a place called Saxa Nigra, (which is situated in that part of Malta, which is towards Lybia,) they landed in a quiet night, the nine and thirtith of June, & so being not seene of any others, marched without impediment, to the Citie of Malta, where, with incredible joy they were receaued, and there tarried vnto the tyme they knew the further pleasure of the Great Maister.

The

The meane time there grew about *Borgo*, and the other places thereabouts such a mist, being not oft times scene there, that none in maner could see therabouts, when as a boy scatered of the age of twelve yeeres, lookeing out at a window of the castle, and all atraied, cried immedately, that he saw the *Turkes* marching towardes the castle of *Saint Michael*, which being perceiued, and certaine of the knights making towards that part, in their way, they gate a certaintie *Grecian* borne that dwelt at the citie of *Malta*, who being brought backe to *Borgo*, and straitly examined of the cause of his departure from thence, considering he had no pasport, without which, it was lawfull for none to stray abroad, in the end this *Grecian* confessed, that he was purposed to haue fled to the campe of the enemie, and to haue giuen him intelligence of the arraiall of this new supplie, to the end that the *Turks*, might in the marching of this supplie towards the great maister, surprise them by some ambussh. Wherupon the *Iannits* considering, that by some occasion hereafter, this fugitive, might worke to them no little detriment, they caused him to bee cut in fourre peeces. Three daies after, this new supplie of souldiours that came out of *Sicilia*, about night saelie came to the great maister, sauing two or three lacques, that were charged with certaine armour and other fardels, who caine into the hands of the enemie. It is in maner, incredible what courage was augmented in the hartes of the besiegued Christians, through the comming of this new supplie, and chiefly *Valet*, the great maister, seeing beefore his eies, assembled, the flower of the *Iannits*, and other most worthie seruitures sent to him by the prouidence

of

of Almighty God, saied (vwith teares in his eies for Ioy) I thank thee humbly, most mighty God and heauenly King, that of thy mercifull goodnesse doest heare my prayers, and doest not forsake this pitifull flock of thine; traualing vnder my charge, being compassed (as thou assuredly knowest) vwith these most raging and furious wolues; What shall I say more? but these are the works of thine onely paruell goodnesse, apparent omnipotencie, and inscrutable vvisedome.

This new supply, that vvas come to the great Maister, vvere earnest sutors, that it vwould vouchsafe the great Maister to graunt them that benefit, that they might serue in the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, the great Maister prising their valiant courage, did condiscend to theyr request; vwithout changing at all, there, the ancient garrison. The next day following, such of the garrison of *Saint Michaels*, as had desire to come to hand strokcs vwith the enemie, issued forth, & meeting vwith the enemy at *Saint Margarets*; so vorthely behaued themselues that they killed aboue 200 of the *Turks*, & hurt as many of them, that none of the garrison retourned home to the Fortres, without blood drawnen of the enemie; yea and vwithout losse of any of their company, at that time. Which vvhē *Mustapha* parceued, he knew right wel that it vvas the new supply come to the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, therefore he found meruailous fault vwith those, that had the charge by sea; that by their negligence, this supply gate landing & entrie: So as they, to vwhose charge the vtter parts of the Iland vvere committed, came in vonderfull suspicion of *Mustapha*. Whose suspicion also vvas augmented through the departure of three

Y.j.

Gal-

Gallies of Argire, that stole away, vtherby he had small credit to the rest of the Argirians there, and much lesse confidence to the Renegants that vvere Christians, and there seruing the Turke. Wherefore hee ordayned that none of those persons should tarry on land out of their shippes vpon paine to be thrust through on stakes, and to bee burnt to ashes, and so in chaunging that watch, hee appointed the gallyes, of Salach the Turke, to take the custody of the lland, that no supply should enter. And to the end that neither of his owne, nor any Christian should surprise theyr Nauy, he caused sundry of his owne shippes to be set a longst the breadth of the port of Musetto, and the one to bee chayned to the other. And forasmuch as that the bldy slyxe and other diseases had inuaded his campe, he ordained for the sick three kindes of places, one for the wounded, at the wa-ter of Marza, vnder the gard of 2000. Turks, another on shipborde, for the voluntary souldiours, & the third vpon scaffolds deuised betwixt ship and ship for the Renegants. At which time Mustapha made Ochial the Turk, generall ouer Tripolis in Barbaria, who passing therethen with fiftie Galliaceis to take possession of his charge, & after setting euery thing in order ther, he returned to the campe in Malta. And for the better furniture of bread for the campe, the Bassa caused two ships frayghted with wheat to be transported to the towne of Leptis, and there to be made and baked because the campe of the Turkes had much neede of bread. Likewise Mustapha sent to Solyman the Emperour Zaloth the Turke, to shew him how he had wonne by assault, the fortres of Saint Hermes, and bare with him the plat of the lland, as he found it at his entry there,

there, & to declare to him that he found those of Malta, better prepared, & more strong, then he hoped in the beginning, to haue found them. And that it his pleasure were, that he should continue the wars ther in that lland it were not a little requisit, to aide him with a great supply of men, victuall, and more furniture of municions. Whch if he send, he trusted to win the remnant of the fortresses of Malta, though not so sone, as perhaps would be loked for. And in the meane time while he receiued aunswere hee would foreshow and protract no time, to prove by assalt & otherwise, to gaine the fortresses if he could. And because he should see me, not to haue written vaine matters to his Prince, Mustapha had beegun his battery with seauentie great peeces of artillery, (among which, were three mighty Basiliscoes,) in fourteene severall places, insomuch as from the Promontory of the place of execution vnto the wa-ter of Marza, and from thence vnto the fortres of Saint Hermes, where they had placed 300 Lazzaries in garrisoun, they entrcnched and fortifid all that compasse of earth right warlike, with meruaylous strength. With which cruell battery, contynuing day and night, they tormented the townes of Ergo and Saint Michael, that the walles, bulwarkes and houles were there wonderfully indanimaged, so as none knew well whereto bee safe, whereby at the first, both women and children were meruaylously annoyed. And the Turkes themselues were driven to keepe within their fortifid campe, nor durst issue abroad without great multitude, and for all that they escaped not home againe to their campe all free, for the horsemen of the Garrison of the Citie of

Malita, now & than scouring the countrie, vwould charge them on the back and kill many of them.

Whan the newes of the losse of the Fortres of *Saint Hermes* came to *Rome*; the Citie was replenished with meruailous care and teare for the tydings: insomuch, as some there, mourned to see that auncient glorie of the *Latin Name* vvas in such sort diminished. An other sort, was in no little dread that the calamitie of *Malta* vwould redownd to *Rome*.

There were also an envious and detracting kinde of men more liberall with carping tonges, than expert in knowledge of warres, that layed the vvhole blame of the losse of the Fortres vpon *Mounsier Valet* the great Maister: vwhome, both his Inuincible courage, and no lesse the valiant and noble personages there accompanyeng him, than also this Historie making mencion of all theyr most vvorthie A&ts, vwould parpetually deliuer him from such infamy and sclaunder. But such, as care not for theyr owne estimacion, by lykelihood would not spare to defame the Renome of an other. For as Ignorance cannot Judge well of the Pollicies and Inuencions of the learned sort. No more can Coward Varlets rightly discerne of the vvorthie A&ts and valiant doeings of Couragious olde and practized Soldiours. But to retourne to the matter of our History, before we told you how three Galiacies were in preparing, at *Messana*, and what diligence they v-ved about the same that had the charge thereof; in such sort as the seventh of July, they departed out of the Port of *Messana*. There were in those three ships besides the Knights of the *Ioannites*, sixe hundred Spaniards

Spaniards, and three hundred of the Popes Soldiours, vnder the charge of *Pompeio Colona*, among vvhom, wer some that voluntary rowed, & some that vver constrained. To the constrained, libertie vwas promised if they vwould doe their endeouours, to bring the into the port of *Borgo*, they shoulde, after, be aduanced to roomes of Soldiours as the others vvere. So as not onely their purpose was to succour those that wer besiegued, with men, but also vwith victuall. For vwhich cause, they shipped 250 *Medimni* of Wheat, besids Gun pouder, Sall-peter, and Leade, meete for Artillerie and like vses.

And albeit they supposed it very difficult, to enter the Port, being so strongly garded by the *Turk*: neuerthelesse such desire rested in the mindes in the *Ioannites* present in those Shippes, that they made accompt the entrie might easly be brought to passe, both to them and thother.

Whan they approched nigh vnto *Malta*, these shippes made foorth a Fragot to see if any signe from the Castle of *Saint Angelo* could be espied, vvhether they might vnderstand, vvhether the ships might proceed to enter or retire. Whan the Fragot vpon his proceeding, parcing a signe that he shoulde retourne back, retourned to the shippes shewing the signe of retyring: though the *Turks* vwan they prouided the signe dyd vwhat they could to obscure the signe by shorte of great Artillarye at the same, vvhether they replenyshed the Skyes vwith meruailous obscurities, as though the same had bene thorough darke Cloudes; vvhich the shippes vnderstoode vwell enough: and so retourned backe into *Sicilia*.

In deede, it was not thought meet by *Valet* that most curteous prince, that so many worthy knyghts of the order, and so many noble personages and valiaunt souldiours, beeing togetheris in those shippes, should bee brought in manerit danger, for hee did see apparauntly how that certaine of *Turks* shippes, lay by night, at the incomming of *Porto Masetto*, at a place called *Arenulato* enbar all entrie and issue, to and fro *Porto Muore*, without their leue. At which time, when as the garrison of the citie of *Malta*, had intelligence what good successe the new supplic had vpon their issue made (as before) against the *Turkes*, they taking courage thereby; made likewise asafie vpon the enimie, that spoiled abroad in the land, as they wer driving certain cattell, whiche they had taken, & in such sort they of the citie valiantly behaued themselues, that after sundry of the *Turks*, by them slaine, not onely they recouered the cattell, but draue the rest of the *Turks* to their shippes. The campe of the *Turks* understanding the chace to come towardes them immediatly stroke a l'arme, and repairing to the pavillion of their generall *Mustapha*, ceased for that time, the battery. Whiche matter, caused the Prince *Valet* to suppose, that the *Turks* was marching to giue assalt at the breach; and therefore the prince fully determined with himselfe to be ther present at the defence of the breach, thinking thereby that his presence should not a little encrease the courage and hardinesse of the garrison of Saint Michaels. For which purpose, immediatly he caused a bridge vpon boates to passe both the halfe Ilands to Saint Michaels to bee made. But knowing what the aarme ment, he returned to the castle of Saint Angelo.

There

There were some that judged this dooing of the Prince to bee meruaylous bolde & couragious, but not voyd of great daunger occupyeng such a place & function, as he dyd, and therfore was worthie to be blamed for the same: Alleadging, that matters of great waight & importance, ought rather to be put in effect by the force of the mynde, counsail, & direct order, giuen by the Generall, than by any force of body by him to be shewed. Vnto which affaires, though the Generall be absent, yet by his prudent orders established, he may be present among his soldiours. For the decay of the General (which if he come to handstrokes may easly happen the ruin of the rest wheroft he had charge, may likewise ensue: as we dayly see, whan the lyfe is gone, the body is dead. Other again affirmed that the prince *Valet*, was worthy of much commendacion, Judging that the preſence of the General was most necessary in perils, conſidering that the Soule cannot rightly gouerne & direct the bodie, except it be present, yea, in the body: For in such doeing hath but followed the examples of y^e most prudent Generals *Alexander*, *Themistocles*, *Cesar*, *Marius*, and sundry others vsing these kinde of words in effect following: *Ego met in agmine, in Prælio, consultor idem & sotius periculi; vobis cum adero: Me vosq; in omnibus rebus iuxtageram.* Both, in the Esquadron & fight (O worthy soldiours) you shal haue mee present a Counsail & companion in all perills: Wherein, as your fortune shall be, the ſame ſhalbe myne.

Who is ſo rude of witt, that if the ſame be requifit in other things, in Peace, it is much more to be deſired in warres.

The

The presence of the Maister oft times causeth his af-fayres, with dilligence and greater facility to haue fortunate proceedings. Nor truely the prudent Poet (discri-uing the wars beetwixt the *Latins* and the *Ruteli*,) was of other minde, sayeng *V/ get Praesentia Turni*, the pre-sence of *Turnus* prouoked the courage of his souldiours, by which most euident reasons it was iudged that *Valet* the prince of the order of the *Ioannites* should haue done both manfully and most prudently according to his function, if according to his determination hee had ben present at the defence of the breach among his sol-diours, if the *Turks* had assalted the same. The same time the king of *Argire* with leauen gallyes & ten other ships, in which were two thoufand and two hundred souldiours, came to the aide of the *Turks* army in *Malta*. Who seeming to be very sory, that he was not there at the be-ginning of the warres, required of *Mustapha*, to haue so much honour shewed him, that both for the declaration of his good will, for the exployt of some notable seruice & to proue what courage rested in his owne souldiours he might haue the formost place with his souldiours to assalt the fortres of *Saint Michael*, which not onely was graunted to him, but also *Mustapha* caused two thousand chosen soldiours of the army of the *Turk*, to be ioyned to him, which being granted to him, about 90 small ships were commanded to be brought from *Porto Musetto*, vnto the water of *Marza*, for that vpon that side the king of *Argire* purposed vpon the water to giue the assault vnto the fortres. Which when the Prince *Valet* did perceue, as also, hauing had intelligence of this the *Turks* preparati-on & devise, by a certaine fugitiue that came out of the campe

campe to him. Immediatly he called before him two of the best practised & faithfull pilots, that were in *Borgo*, & of them demanded by what meanes the *Turks* might be enbarred from the approching to the toote of the wall of the fortresse. The pilots answered that their opinions were, if of masts of ships, and other timber ioyned togethers at the ends with ringes of Iron, and therof as it were a long chaine to be made, and the one end ther of to be fastned from the corner of the castle of *Saint Angelo*, vnto the other side, where the enimie with their boates were determined to enter, the enimies deuises should bee vtterly stopped in that behalfe. This pollicie liked the great Maister in such sort, that in the night following, the chaine was ended, and placed according-ly. The *Turkes* in the dawning of the morning, seeing this chaine placed to enbarre their pretences, were sto-nished, not knowing how to land the souldiours : but while the king of *Argire* and his company were in this mase, a fugitiue a Christian, a man of meruailous hardi-nesse, (to which kinde of persons, rashnesse serueth for vertue, and desperation in stead of constancy) came to the king, and promised that he would breake this chaine aforesaid. Wherevpon (taking an axe with him) did enter into the watet, after whom followed two or three others, to aide and help him, and so swimming to this chayne, this fugitiue began to strike at this chayne with his axe. Which when the Christians in *Borgo*, did per-ceive, about fife or sixe of them with their swords draw-en did on their part by and by swimme likewise to the defence of the chayne, where, after killing two of that company, those Christians did put the other to flight.

Of the warres

After that, none was so bold to put in prooфе the like againe: Neuerthelesse, the king of Argire, dyd not leaue his purpose, for the xv day of July, at the breake of day, he proceded to the assalt, both by land and vwater.

The Christians perceiving the pretence of the Argiri-
ans, had prepared the most part of their Artillerie to be
laied towards that place vwhere the Argirians came to
giue the assalt. So as, vpon the repaire of the Turks, the
Artillerie of the Christians vvere vnbended with such vi-
olence by the space of three houres, during the time of
the assalt, that with the bullets of the Canon & other
Artillerie, about two thousand Turks were torne in pec-
ces & drowned, with twelue of their shippes. Howbeit
the most part of their shippes approaching to the Chaine,
& perceiving the same to enbarre them to land where
they purposed, they turned the shippes vpon an other
part towards the Fortres of Saint Michael, but doting
nothing, they likewise vvere enforced to retourne.

Vpon the land, likewise, it vvas meruailously fought,
so as many Turks vvere slaine, and two hundred of
our Christians vwanting, among vvhom Frederic, the
sonne of Dom Garza, Viceroy of Sicell, vvas torne in pec-
ces vwith an Iron Bullet, also one Gordio a French-
man: Francis Senoghera, vwith his Neuew John, Hispa-
paniards borne, and knights of the Ioannits. Medina,
there, likewise was vvounded to death, vwho after-
ward dyed of the same.

But the Prince Valet, perceiving in what perills the
state of vvhole Malta should stand in, if many such
battailes vvere often fought, vvhian as, those that were
vyearie, both day and night should continually haue

to

and siege of Malta.

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to doe with the fresh and new Soldiours of the Turks,
and to haue no maner of supply of soldiours, sent to
succour them. Therefore the seventeenth of July, he
sent a messenger into Sicilia, who by swimming pas-
sed from the Castle at the vter bay: leading to the
water of Marza, and from thence escaped vknownen
through the middest of the enemies, vnto the Cittie
of Malta, and so from Malta taking shipping, came with
diligence to Messana. To this messenger, Valet, gaue
letters, by the which he required that he might haue
those two Gallies of his owne, there remaining, and
the same to be furnished and sent with those number
of knights of the Ioannits, as were remaining at Messa-
na, and with so many other soldiours as might fill
and replenish those Gallies. And that, vpon their com-
ming nigh to Malta, they should abide a loose before
the Port, vnto such time they had a conuenient signe
made vnto them whether they might safely enter the
Port yea or no.

At which time that the messenger of Malta, came to
Messana, there came therer a fleet of shippes out of Spain
that brought in the same sundry knights of the order
of Ioannits, of diuers nacions. Whan as the Viceroy
purposed to send away to Malta, the two gallies written
for, he first thought meet to write to the great Master
certayne letters Ciphered by two severall little shippes,
wherby he signified to the great Master, that with those
he sent the two Gallies for y which he wrote: howbeit
he required that the Gallies might haue assured signe
made vnto them, whan they came in sight of the lland,
whether they might enter without euident peril or no.

Zij.

These

These two little ships, thus departing from *Messana* to-wards *Malta*, (whereot the one was furnished with sundry simples and medicaments pertaining to Phisick & Surgerie, dyd not both keepe one course of Sayling: Wherby the bote that had the Medicaments for Phisick and Surgery, came into the hands of the *Turks*, as afterward vvas learned, the other arriued safe in *Malta*. Neverthelesse because, a few daies before, all the waies betwene *Saint Michaels* and the *Citie of Malta*, vvere utterly enbarred by the *Turks*, and that three Christians vvhich vvere vsed to goe and come betwixt those places, in their passing vvere surprised & taken by the *Turks*, and most cruelly put to death. And besids, the entries of the Ports vvere vigilantly garded, that none vwithout the knowledge of the *Turks* could vwell enter.

Wherby the knights of the order, resting at *Messana*, could not tell how to send safely the two Gallies away to *Malta*. Notwithstanding considering that the great Maister so earnestly vrvote to haue them, & that they thought, *Vbi rerum agitur summa, unius particula periculum, minus esse metuendum*. Where the vvhole affaires rest in daunger, the perill and losse but of a part & particle thereof for the conseruacion of the rest ought the lessē to be regarded and feared, they determined vwith themselues to commit the two Gallies to the guiding of Fortune; alwaies aforeseeing, that all those knights of the order, shold not passe in that hazard, but onely fortie of them ioyned vwith a good number of soldiours, that furnished vp the two Gallies. With these passed Captain *Salazar*, an *Hispaniard*, in a bote towed by the Gallies, into the lland of *Gozo*; vwho after from thence

Heence passed into *Malta*, to espie both the state of the *Citie*, and the *Turks* Armie. The meane tyme, the *Turks* not forgetting, the great ouerthrow and repulse that they receaved at their late assalt at *Saint Michaels*, and not a litle desirous no reuenge the same, therfore they began vwith terrible fury theyr batterie againe, against the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, in such sort, as that so much as the defendours repaired vp in the night, the *Turks* by day by their Artillery ouerthrew and brake.

While the enemies Artillerie, dyd their feate, the *Turks* deuised theyr bridge, vvhich they finished, and dyd sett ouer the dyke before the Sunne rysing, the twentith of *July*, vvhileby they might come to hand strokes vwith out *Christians*. Which being perceaved by the defendours, and considered, vwhat detriment the bridge vvduld import, if the same vvere suffered: Immediately *Seignor Parisoto* the great Maisters Neuer, and *Ageria*, knights of the Order, vwith a good company of other soldiours, issud forth of entent to haue burned the bridge. Who in such sort vvere receaved by the *Turks*, that vwithout executing the matter, they came togāl those that issued together vwith *Parisoto* and *Ageria*, vvere vterly slaine. The *Turks* (this space) seased not to continue the fury of their Artillery, in battering the walls; vntill the xxvij. day of *July*; So as, that astenone, they courageously assalted the Fortres on sundry parts thereof; and chrele did send fresh men, to supply the roomes of their soldiours that were either vvery in the fight, or ouerthrown in the assalt, & so mantually the *Turks* stood to their mark, that they doubted not to gaine the Fortres that day.

But our Christians on their part with no lesse valiant courage resisted them, & with very force, what by Gunshot, arrowes, wildefire & handstrokes, at last they compelled the *Turks* to retire from the assalt, with incredible losse. With this victory, the harts of the defenders in such manner encreased that they cared nothing for the malice of the enemie. And because there was not so often skirmishing on our side, as was wont, and that the artillery of the *Christian* side, began to stay from shooting, the *Turks* supposed, that there was few souldiours left on liue in the fortres, & that their furniture of pouder, shot, and other things, were spent. Which stay from skirmishing & shooting, was rather done of purpose by the countaire and deuile of the *Prince Valer*, then for any want of those matters in the fortres, & for a good cause, considering that he heard of no maner of certaine aide, at that time, & that every day more & more the enemies fury & malice did grow the greater, hee thought it not requisit, to consume his garrisons & other furnitures idly & to no purpose. But the *Turks* perceyuing, that by these often assalts of theirs, theyr pretences toke little effect, they determined with themselves to prooue what they could by myning, and one mine they had in maner brought to passe, before our *Christians* did perceiue the same, & to the end they might blinde the eyes of the defenders, they caused two gallyes towards the water, to aproch the wals of the towne of *Saint Michael*, & to beate at the same with theyr artillery, supposing by the same that the garrison to haue forsaken their charge, & to haue aided the rest, would haue neglected the custody of the wals of the castle, & so by this mine, to haue entred into

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the fortres. But the defenders, vnderstanding the subtile policies of the *Turks*, by the meanes & prudence alwell of certaine of the garrison, as chiefly of one of the ensignebearers ther, brought vterly to naught the mine of the enemie, by a contermine. For the ensigne bearer first entring the mine of the enemy, with a lanterne in hand, & casting certain arteficial fire among the enemies in the mine, that whether the enemy would or no, hee draue them out of the mine. For which good seruice done, the great master rewarded this worthy ensigne bearer with the gift of a chaine of gold wayeng ffeue pounds, & because that *Virtus virtutem parit, eaq; in arduo sita est*, one vertuous act, allureth another to do the like, though the same be very difficult to attaine vnto. The next day after which was the first of *August*, certaine of the garrison of the fortres issed forth, & with pouder burnt to peeces the bridge which the *Turks* before had devised & layed ouer the dike, which worthy deed so done, turned to the whole fortres a wonderfull commodity. For the next day after, at the Sun setting the *Turks* assalted agayne the fortresse, vpon that part which was garded by *Carolo Roffo*, where by the space of threc hours, it was valiauntly foughten on each side, but in the ende the *Christians* repulsed the *Turkes*, leauing behinde them three hundred slaine. And on the *Christian* part remayned dead, *Roffo* himselfe with one *Barefo*, and certaine other souldiours.

This while during the assalt the *Turks* in such sort exercised their great artillery with continual shot, that none of the defenders durst scarce shew his head to looke into the dike, but immediatly he was dispatched, but

but for all that, where occasion of any worthy seruice was at that instant to be shewed, the souldiours of the fortresse would not spare his life, to execute the same. As well appeared in Calderonio the Hispaniard, whō when hee doubted that the enemy was breaking that part of the wall of bulwarke, called the bulwarke of Castile, hee issued immediatly to espy and know the same, but in a moment hee was slaine with the bullet of an arquebuse. Whose infortuny as to some it wold haue beene a terroure and feare, so was the same not the lesse an encouragement of the rest, to endeauour to doe the like seruice. For when they perceiued that the enemy did what they could to fill vp the dike of the fortresse, they of the garrison determined rather to ende their liues with honour, then to come into the handes of a most cruell enemy, and therfore concludē togetheres to issue forth that night vpon the enemy, and to enbar them of their purpose.

Wherupon a hundred of the garrison issued forth, part whiche of were *Ioamits* and part *Guldioors* that tooke wages, and so worthely gaue chātge vpon the enemy, that they enforced them to forsake the dikes and to flic away a pace, leauing behinde them slaine four-score *Turks*, and ten killed of our side, among whom of the Christian part remayned dead two knyghts of the order *Giovanni Cantabro*, and one *Macrino*, whose heads the cruell *Turks* had cut from their bodies, and plaunting them vpon speares, did set them in the valle of *Saint Sauors*, to be viewed of the fortresse. That day at night, those that were in the citie of *Malta*, made many bonfire, and therewith shot of their arquebuses, shewing there-

thereby a great token of reioyce: Which both those that were beleged, and the *Turks* also hard very well, whereby the *Turks* supposed, that either the Nauie of the Christians began to approch the Iland of *Malta*, or else such supply of Christians were landed, that was habble to encounter with the *Turks* Armie there. But it was none of those two matters, and onely of purpose done, aswell to shew their owne courages, as to make the *Turkes* astonished vwith the newnesse of the matter.

The *Turks* the meane time filled the dike of the Bulwarke of *Castile*, which thing caused that neither the *Turkes* could be endamaged by the Casemats of the dyke being cloyed vp: nor yet by the Flankers from the Bulwarke of *Akerne*. Whereby the *Turks* without any maner of impediment, might easelier enough assalt the breach which they with their Artillerie, before, had made. Also from their Mount placed vpon the right hand of *Saint Sauors*, they began to beate vehemently, with two brasen peeces there planted, so as, that at the first stroke, they beat in at a window made for the shooting out of Artillerie, vtherwith the enemie vvas vront to be encumbered, of the vwhich place one *Francis Castilia* had the charge: so expert vvere the Canoners of the *Turkes* part.

Also one *Giovanni Barnardo Godineto* a Spaniard, and knyght of the Order, vwith the stroke of an Arquebuz eaded his lyfe. That day *Francis Aquilates*, a Spaniard, one of the Garrison of *Saint Michael*, having vwife and children in the Isle of *Gozo*, allured by two wicked counsaillours, that is to say, *Feare and Hope*, shame-
fully

fully fledde out of the Towne of *Saint Michaels*, vnto the Enemie, counsailing the Enemie to Assault the Towne againe, laying, that vwithout all doubt, they should vwinne the Towne, if they vwould attempt the same againe, because there vvere scarce foure hundred Soldiours left, and yet vwhat with extreme labors that they had suffered during the keepe, and vwhat by their hurtes and vounds, they vvere not able to endure longer, as for the rest of the Soldiours that vvere ther, they vver utterly consumed & dead. Wherefore the *Turks* perceiving, that such breaches alredy wer made, by their Artillery, in the townes of *Borgo* & *Saint Michael*, that Carts vvere able to passe thorough them, they purposed to assalt both those townes at once, and to proue vwhether there rested in the garrisons of those two townes such courage and force, as vvere able to give them such repulse againe, as before so often they had receaued.

Therefore vpon the leauenth of *August*, at one instant hour, the *Turks* assalted *Borgo* at the Bulwark of *Castile*, and the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, vwith such a fury and multitude, that the vwhole earth thereabouts vvas couered vwith the enemie. And such vvas the thunder of the great Artillerie, the haile of the Harquebuz shot, the noise of Armour, the faufare of Trumpests, the sound of Drummes, and cries of men of each side, that Heauen & Earth seemed to beate together.

Which vvan the bands of Horsemen that vvere in the citie of *Malta* heard by the thundering of the great Artillerie, and saw the Skies obscured vwith the smoke of the same, and doubting that the *Turks* vwould not leue

leue the assalts, vnto such tyme they had vyonne the Townes, as they dyd, before *Saint Hermes*: Immediately all the Horsemens most valiantly issued out of the Citie of *Malta*, and to the ende to turne the enemie from the Assalt, they gaue charge vpon those bands of *Turkes* that garded the sick and vvounded persons resting at the vwater of *Marza*. Who thus being assailed vpon the sodaine, fled, and our Horsemen chasing them in killing and ouerthrowing them meruailously.

The noife, and cryes of such as fled, being perceued by those *Turks* (vwho all this vwhile vvere occupied in the assalt of *Saint Michael*) they were enforced at that tyme to leave the fight, and to come to succour the rest that fled. Thus vvere the *Turks* repulsed from both the Townes, leauing behinde them slayne, aboue 1500 *Turkes* beesides those that were slaine by the Horsemen of the Citie of *Malta*, before they had succours from the Campe. Of the *Christian* part of both the Townes vvere slaine more than an hundred, and as many wounded : both the assaults continued more than ffe hours.

Heere *Mounster Valet*, beeing thus delivered that day, and many other, from such evident perills, eaued generall Prayer to bee made to Almighty GOD, and hee him selfe vwith the vwhole Townes men, repaired to the Church about the same.

While these things, vvere thus in doeing, *Dom Garza* the Vice Roy of *Sicel*, had secret intelligence out of *Calabria*, that *Soliman* the Emperor of the *Turks* had caused certaine ships to be set in a redines at *Constantinople* which

which were furnished vwith soldiours, victuall, & other necessaries appertaining to the vvarres, to be sent to Malta. Wherfore to meet with them, the Viceroy sent the Lords Altamira and Gildandradu, accompanied with fife Galleaccis: vwho departing to the Seas, and tailing vntill they came vwithin xxx. miles of Malta, they could not see nor heare of the ships that they sought for; but onely of a Gallie and a little Barque of the Turks. I he Gallic vvas taken, and the Barque escaped away to the Turkes.

This vwhile, *Mustapha* thinkeing there vvas none so strong, but that continuall labour and vwatching vwould in the ende breake and vbreaken him vterly, he thought conuenient, to keepe the defendours occupied vwithout giueing them any maner of rest, in all that he could: therfore he commaunded that the Fortres of *Saint Michaell*, should be assalted againe at the breaches before made by the Artillery. But the *Turks* by the valiant defenders vvere quickly repulsed: vwith no litle destruction of the enemie.

These often assalts, this *Bassa* dyd not make, in that he had any great hope to vvinne these Places, but rather to shew him selfe to execute the function and office of an expert Generall, and to satisfie the minde of his Prince *Solimane*, vwho had commaunded them, either to winne the places, or else there to losse their liues about the same.

But also the *Bassa* had dispatched and sent a little Barque away vwith Letters to *Solimane*, by the vwhich he gaue him intelligence of the state of his Nauie, vwith what meruailous inconueniences his army was afflicted, what

what small hope he had to win the places of the Christians, and what preparation the Christians were in making to giue succouls to Malta, & other such like things. The meane time the two gallies of Malta, departed from Messina, and came to Sarragoza, where they tarryed one day, while the ship of Salazar was set on ground to talow, to make hir more swifte of saile, and that the better the next day after they might passe togethers, the famous promontory and lands end of Sicilia, called Pachino. The next day, as they departed out of the hauen of Sarragoza, they encountring a boate that came from Pozalo, hauing in the same one of Malta, beeing very sore wounded, who beeing demaunded, who had in such sort euell entreated him, answered that when as he & a companion of his, that other night, arived nigh that port, and so required by two Sicilians, that had houses vpon the shore, to come on land, and to lodge with them that night, which they did, sodainely the night being quiet, fife *Turks* landed, by whom the two Sicilians were taken, and his companion slaine, and he himselfe hurt, as they did see, which two Sicilians that were taken also told those *Turks*, that in the port were riding two gallyes, hauing in the same sundry knights of the order, with other souldiours, to passe in Malta, by whose words the knights of the order, in those two gallyes well perceiued, that theyr going into Malta, was discovered to the enemy, whereby they knew it was either most dangerous for them, to enter the port of Borgo in Malta, or else vterly impossible. Neuerthelesse they dread not to keepe on their course towards Malta, roweng at their sternes the boate of Salazar.

While these two galleyes thus sayled they perceiued not farre beeefore them two other Gallyes, and a little Barque, who espying the two Gallyes of the Christians to follow them, made all the hast they could towardes *Malta* from them, whereby the Christians thought, that without doubt, they were the Gallyes that had sent the ffe Turkes on land, who had done those hurts, which hee of *Malta*, beeefore recounted to them.

Howbeit the two Christian Gallyes continued theyr course vnto *Pozalo*, from whence by theyr letters they gaue intelligence to the Viceroy, of occurrants to them happened in theyr voyage. And forsoomuch as they could not proceede on their course, in that the South and Southwest windes, were so much contrarious to them, they retyred with their Gallyes to *Sarragoza* agayne, and so to proceede as the Viceroy shold further aduise them. About the which, immediatly a knight of the order, was sent from thence to *Messana*, to the Viceroy, whose counsell was, that the two galleyes should stay at *Sarragoza*, for the rest of the whole Navy, that right shortly would come and accompany them into *Malta*.

But *Salazar* being brought to *Pozalo*, determined in his boate to continue forward his course, and albeit at the time, that hee departed from *Pozalo*, the seas were meruaylously troubled with windes, thunders, & other stormes, the other daies following were so quiet & calme that within a short time, *Salazar* arived sately at the citie of *Malta*, and there taking apparell of a Turk vpon him, and like weed for a companion of his, that could speake

speake the Turkish tongue as hee could, by night they departed thence into the Campe of the Turkes to espy the estate of the Turkish armie, where they espying that, they caine for, they perceyued that the whole number of the Turkes left on liue in theyr Campe, amounted scarce to fouretene thousand men, wherof many of them were hurt, and very sicke, the residue, were but an vnmeetee and vnwarlike company, considering that their former fights and assaults had consumed their best souldiours, and after hauing secretly viewed the manner and forme of theyr encamping, *Salazar* vwith his companion retourned backe to the citie of *Malta* againe.

The next night after, *Salazar* vwith one *Pietro Paccio* a Spaniard a gentleman of meruaylous hardinesse and courage, repayred to a place nigh vnto the beacon or vvatch place called *Maleca*, vwhich place when hee had thoroughly considered, hee left *Pietro* there, and keeping in memory the signes and tokens of the cities of *Gozo* and *Malta*, as *Pietro* shewed him, to the ende to declare the same to the Viceroy.

Salazar taking passage in his owne boate againe, found fortune so much to bee his friend, that shortely after hee arived at *Messana*, vwhere hee discouered to the Viceroy, vwhat hee had seene, amongst many talkes, hee shewed how vveake the Turkish Navy remayned, how slender theyr Armie on land was, voyde of good souldiours, and weapon, that theyr whole number of Turkes were not able to encounter, with tenne thousand Christians.

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To affirme the wordes of *Salazar* to bee true, at that time returned one of the two little shippes, wherof I told you beefore, that were sent to bee espialls in *Malta*, bringing with him a *Spaniard*, and a fugitiue out of the *Turks* campe, besides, also retourned soure gallyes that before were sent from *Messana*, who brought with them foureteene *Turks*, whom they had taken about *Malta*, who all approued the words of *Salazar* to be true, that is to say, that the *Turks* army was meruailously diminished, and that with beatings, they could not be compelled scarcely to aproach to the walls, for which cause the *Bassa*, had slaine sundry of them. And the thing that made the *Turks* so affraied, was that they saw never any of them whom the *Christians* wounded, but hee lost his life.

Besides that, they said, they did see the *Christians*, with incredible hardinesse defend their places, & that no pecece of artillery of the *Christians* side, was at any time vainely blowen of, wherfore the *Turks* affirmed, they had right good cause, to bee weary and repent & to detest such wars, which made them to eschew vtterly to fight, and vtterly to flie away, and chiefly such as were *Renegants*, that had forsaken the *Christian* faith and become *Turks*. For which cause there was right strait watch set by the *Bassa*, and commandement giuen by hym, that either they should winne the towne, or else to loose their liues all, for so had *Soliman* their prince commaunded. These words and such like (which the *Turks* that were taken did tell to the *Viceroy*,) made the *Viceroy* to set forth his nauie in a readinesse more soone then otherwise peraduenture he would. In the Fortres

of

of *Borgo*, this vwhile, vvas one *Francis Giuara*, a Captain, a very hardy gentleman and v wonderfull Ingenious, he a litle from that place vwhere the enemie vwith Artillerie had beaten downe a part of the vwall of the towne, builded a pecece of Fortificacion, contayning in length fiftie paces, & in breth ~~six~~ paces, vwith two flanking Corners : vwhich being finished vwithin two nights, turned afterward to a meruailous help and ayde of the defendours of that Towne.

The enemies, the meane tyme, vnder the corner of the Dike vwhere *Bonifegna* the *Spaniard*, a vorthie Knight of the *Ioannits* had his charge, began to myne, vwhich vhan the defenders perceued, they encountring the same vwith an other myne, & thereby brought the myne of the enemie to none effect.

During this tyme, vwhile a Fugitiue vvas comming from the enemie towards *Borgo* & swimming the wa-
ter, the *Turks* tooke him, vwhich vvas a meruailous hinderance to the *Christians* that vvere v wonderfully desirous to know of the estate of the *Turks* Armie, and of their Counsaills. But the enemies seeing the small successe of their purposes, vwould yet prove further deuises, and therefore caused two mynes to be made, one towards a Bulwark of *Saint Michael*, and the other to the Bulwark of *Castile*, into the vwhich Mynes for dicing of the feate, vvere certaine Barrells of Powder bestowed.

Howbeit the pretences of the *Turkes* could not so prudently be v wrought, but through the vigilances of the defendours, the same vvas espyed, and so came to passe, that theyr Mynes came to none effect, and

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the Turks slaine in their owne Mynes, vwith losse also of such barrells of Pouder, as they had layed there, vwhich the Christians recovered from them.

With these offences and difficulties, the hopes of *Mustapha* and *Pial*, the *Bassas* of the *Turks*, being vtterly ouerthrown, they vwith the residue of the Captaines entred in Counsaill to know vwhether it vvere expedient to tarry any longer, or else to retourne home : Whereof the most part, vvere of aduise, that they should depart . But *Mustapha* vvas of an other opinion, saying , that hee thought conuenient they should tarry vntill the Gallie vwhich he sent to *Constantinople* to *Solimane* their prince, vwith letters, retourned againe . Whereby they might vnderstand vwhat the pleasure of the Prince vvere for them to doe in such behalfe : and in the meane tyme, by force or guile, to seeke some good Fortune of victorie. Which indeede the Enemies prooued and attempted more often, than that they gained thereby.

For as they themselues vvere vnquieted, so they purposed not to lett bee in rest the poore *Christians*, sometime in exercising their vsuall fury vwith Artillerie, sometyme either myning, or entrenching, or filling the dikes, or else assalting some breach to theyr owne losse: howbeit, all vwhich that they dyd, they executed the same vwith meruailous diligence and in small time . Therefore vhan as, *Robles* Maister of the Tents, in the night came to view the ruine and ouerthrow of a part of the vwall, he vvas suddenly smitten in the head vwith a bullet of an Harquebuze, and immedately dyed, to the great lamentacion of all such

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as had knowne him . For in him vvere resident sundrie good artes ; vwith vwhich he profited much those that vvere besiegued . Wherefore the Great Maister sent a notable gentleman iight expert in the vvarres, that vvas Coronell of the Fautery (vvhom vnto that time he kept about him selfe;) to be generall of the Fortres of *Saint Michaelis*, vwho vwith such singuler prudence guided his charge, vwith vvatching, counfailling, and prouidence, that so often as the Enemies gaue attempt to that peece, they vver alwaies repulsed, vwith no litle detriment & losse . The meane time those two gallies vwith thother ships of the *Turks* (vwhich (as before I did tell you) vvere espied by the two *Christian* gallies of *Malta*,) arriuing among the *Turks* Nauie, shew ed vnto *Pial Bassa*, the Admirall, that the *Christian* Nauy vvas in redinesse to come to *Malta*, vho dreading the sodaine comming of that Nauie, commaunded 70. of his long ships to be put in a redinesse, leauing 40. ships in the Port of *Musetto*, being the residue of his Nauie, which vver vtterly out of furniture, & vnarmed both of men & tackle: the masts of which 40. ships, wer consumed about making of bridges, & other necessaries, for the af-salting of the places in *Malta*, & the men therof likewise wer spent with sūdry diseases, & fights wherin they serued: Therfore *Pial*, for certaine daies, abode all the day time nigh the shore of *Malta*, about a place ther called *Maiaro*, & in y time he staied abrode vpon the high Sea; abiding the comming of the *Christian* nauie . But he perceiving none to come, he landed his company again : & for somuch as that the furniture of powder began to decaie in the *Turkes* Campe, therfore vvas giuen that

Bb.ij.

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of euery thirty barrels of Pouder, in euery ship twentie or ffeue & twenty barrells according to the appoyned porcion should be taken. Whereby the *Turks*, vwith greater fury than euer they did before, battered the vvalles of both the Townes, vwith such great peeces of Artillery as are called *Basiliscois*: vwhereof euery bullet shot out of the same waieth two hundredth pound, and in compasse seauen spannes. With these peeces of Artillerie the vwalls of the Fortres of *Saint Michael*, vvere thrownen downe and made flat. Likewise at that time, *Mustapha Bassa*, in such sort at *Borgo* beat the Bulwark of *Castile* vwith Artillery, that in maner the same vvas ouerthrownen. Whan as the enemies perceaued that both the townes vvas vtterly made voide, both of their vwalls and other peeces of Fortificacion, so as the *Turks* might looke vpon the *Christians*, and the *Christians* on them: vwithout further tarrieng: the *Turks* vpon the eighteenth of *August*, at noone tyme of the day, vwith their vniuersal armie gaue charge vpon both the towns, at the vwhich the Enemies, vvere three times put back, and thrise returned, and in the end the *Turks* were vtterly repulsed, after ffeue houres fight.

In this most dreadfull assalt, the inuincible courage of the *Prince Valet*, was apparent to each one, who armed with his Curace, and formidable with his Picke in hand, was seene beefore the rest of the *Christians* most valyantly fighting. Whose manfull presence, not onely gaue courage to his soldiours ther, but also moued vp the harts of the boies & women in such extremity to doe notable seruice. For so it commeth to passe oftentimes, *M:qis homines mouentur exemplis quam verbis.*

That

That men are more stirred forwards with examples of well doeing, then by onely doeings. Of this great number of the *Turks*, a part of them had gotten downe into the dikes of *Borgo*, and there tarried, and to the end they should not bee damaged with the flankers of the bulwarke of *Castile*, they fortifiid themselves on the flanke with earth and fagot, which they accomplished right quickly. And for this purpose they did the same, that they might vnderminde and sape the walls, about the which they had occupied the space of fistie yards.

When the garrison of *Borgo* vnderstode the pollicy of the *Turks*, who thus had gotten into the dike, they immediatlie caused certaine of the great artillery to be shot off, alongst that part of the dike, wherewith & with fire also hurled into the dike, a great sort of the *Turkes* with theyr fortification in the dyke, were destroyed. The next dey after the enemyes renewed at the same places, their fights agayne, euer supplyeng the places of their wearied souldiours, with fresh men. But first of all, ensuing theyr vsuall custome, they beat at both the townes with their artillery vntill night, then about midnight, when the Moone shined vpon the earth, this furious assalt with raging cruelty and force began, which at the first made our *Christians* somewhat afraied, who hauing yet memory of their former manhoodc, & vertue, so behaued themselves, with their wilde fire, shot, & other weapons, that the enemyes were enforced to depart right euell handled, into their campe, after three houres fighting.

That day, another mine of the enemyes was found made towards the fortification of the bulwarke of *Ca-*

Bb.iii.

stilz

file, in the which were perceyued to bee a hundred Turks, who vvere all slayne, and the mine broken. Nor for all that, the day following, the enemy was quiet, but seauen times invaded those places agayne, and sending fresh souldiours, who not onely with vvcapon, but also with bags of pouder and fire, continued their fight. At the which *Boninsegna* hauing his face burned, lost an eye. Likewise, at that instant the enemy assaltd the fortres of *Saint Michael*, at a place called *Sperone*, assayeng at that part, to haue entred the fort, wher *Centio Aquitano*, vwith an iuincible courage, mounting on the ramper, vwith his *Picke* most manfully fought to the ouerthrow of such of the enemyes, as enterprised to ascend the ramper, & after killing one of the enemies, to the feare of the rest, beeing shot thorough one of his armes vwith the stroke of an harquebuze, and retyring himselfe, vntill hee had dressed his wound, mantully hee retourned againe to his place, & from thence he departed not vntill such time as the enemy forsooke the assalt, & hee remayned victorius. Thus the *Turks* at both the places, with meruailous losse of their souldiours were repulsd, leauing the victory to the *Christians*, of which our *Christians* were then slaine, to the number of an hundred, wherof the most part were torne in peeces, with the *Turks* artillery. Among whom at the ruine of the bulwarke of *Castile*, was slaine one *Frago*, and at the fortres of *Saint Michael*, *Scipio Prato*, *Giovanni Baptista Soderino*, *Paulo Boniporto*, *Marino Fagiano*, *Ruffino*, all knights of the order of the *Ioannits*, and sundrie others, worthie of longer life. The *Turks* againe wrought an other mine, at the fortres of *Saint Michael*, which when the defencers per-

ceiued

ceyued, they so prouided for the same that the mine tooke none effect.

With such and many attempts and fights, certaine of the knights, & not of the lowest sort of them, fearing that, which so often is assaltd, at the last may be gotten, said to the great Master, that they thought good that all the bookes of good learning and tables, and reliques of *Saints*, and other matters of religion, were meet to bee had out of the towne into the *Castle of Saint Angelo* as into the most sure and safest place. The great master though hee knew right well, that all which they spake proceeded of a right good zeale & minde, neuerthelesse nothing moued therwith, he answered them in this sort, that this their advise, was none other thing then an vtter discouragement of the minds of all the *Christians* ther, who vnto that time had shewed them so valiat, a great deale aboue any mans expectation, therefore he was fully purposed to saue all, or loose all: & to the end that none should haue further confidence in the castle *Angelo*, he was fully determined to bring forth the garrison there, to ioyne them with the rest to fight against the enemy, & to leauie in the castle onely gunners to beat at the enemy as neede should require. An aunswere right worthy giuen of such prince, & to bee commended to perpetuall memory of posterity, for how should the souldiours hope, when he feethis generall in dispaire, or to doe any hardie act worthy of commendacion, wher the generall is full of vaine feare. While the great master, thus with this answere, not onely made them ashamed that gaue him this said advise, but also renewed the harts of some that feared, with further courage.

The

The Turkes determinyng with themselues that,that day (no lesse than the other three dayes were before) should not bee voyde of some fight, furiously assalted be-times in a morning,those two townes,with greater force,then hee dyd before,chiefely at the ruines of *Castile*,wher *Sanromanis* of *Aruernia* defendynge that quarter, lost this britle lyfe, gayning immortality for the same. At *Saint Michaels*,*Adornio*, a knight of the order, with one *Fagio*, and sundre others, were wounded, for the enemy tarryed not long at the assault, but retyred. When as immediatly the enemy began the vsuall thundering of his artillery agayne,that therewith the whole Island seemed to tremble,& the Skyes to be set on fire. The meane tyme *Valet* beeing weary with the morning fight, departed for the tyme,to recreat himselfe, when sodaynely a *Spanish* Priest, with his hands holding vp to heauen,ran, and met with the *Prince Valet*,sayeng & cryeng out, *Malta alas is lost*,for three or foure ensignes of the enemyes,are already entred the towne,in at the ruynes of *Castile*. Which when the *Prince Valet* heard, forthwith hee did put on his head his *Burganet*,& with his *Picke* in his hand, came among his soldiours sayeng. Becholde most worthy companions the houre is now come,wherein you must shew your selues valyant defenders of the *Christian* religion,for if you still haue with you that noble courage,which you haue alwayes hetherto shewed in the former assaults,there is no cause why you should doubt in this extremity, for you see but the same enemy, and we haue still our former God with vs,who as hetherto hee hath mercifully sauued vs, so he will now defend vs. Therefore most worthy Ions

all

all,come on with mee;& let vs couragiously give them the charge. With these words,*Valet* him selfe gaue the onset,fighting stoutly wher the greatest peril remained, after him, manfully followed his Soldiours, yea, the townesmen,children,women & old men,right fearlesly striking at the *Turks* that were entred. Where the fight on each side was exceeding cruel & perillous,some stopped the enemies from further entring,some killed them entring, some gave them the chase in wounding & driveng them forth againe. The *Turks* resisted meruailously, and thus it was couragiously fought on each part: within and without the grounds was couered with all sorts of weapon,dead bodies, and blood.

The Great Maister as cause serued,was alwaies present, prouiding euery necessarie: some he praised,some he encouraged,some he monished,& he himselfe right liuely fought,executing sometime no lesse the act of a worthie Soldiour,than also the function of a most prudent Generall. At last,with the Sunne set, this cruell conflict ended: and the Great Maister remained victorius, but not vwithout losse of two hundredth of his men. Where,of the enemies were slaine to the number of two thousand, besids those that entred,vvhilene none escaped. These vvere foure of the sorest conflicts that the *Christians* vvhich vvere besiegged, had vvithe the *Turks*: During this time, the *Viceroy* of *Sicel*,for setting forward his Nauie into *Malta*, staied for none other matter but onely for the retourne of *Giovanni Cardono*, vvithe his twelue long shippes that before vvas gone to *Panhorm*, to conduct and bring vvithe him foure Shippes there vvithe victuall:

Cc.

But

But perceuing that he tarried too long, he sent a Post to him to byd him come away vwith all the speede he could, and if he could not bring away those shippes vwith victuall by towing them, for their better speede, than to shippe theyr victualls in his owne shippes, and leauing the others behinde at Panerme, to make hast away, his owne selfe.

Therefore the Viceroy vwith his Nauie of 72. Gallies the xx. of August, departed from Messana, and came to Sarragoza, bringing vwith him in his Nauie ten thousand chosen men, among vvhom vvere 200, and moe, of the knights of the order of the Ioannits, and about fortie knights of the new order of the Stephanits, which order of knighthood vvas lately founded by that most prudent Prince Cosmo Medices, Duke of Florence, in the yeere of our Lord 1561. In this they differ from the Ioannits, vwhere the Ioannits vveare the White Crosse, the Stephanits vveare a Redde Crosse, vwritten about vwith Gold: againe the Stephanit, may be once married, vwhich cannot be permitted to the Ioannit.

The Iland named Ilua, anciently called Emathia, lyeng in the Sea called Tuscum, is the place of their residence, but vnto such time as their new Citie called Cosmopolis, be finished, being in building by the Duke of Florence, being likewise the Great Maister of the same, as hee is the founder thereof. The knights of the Stephanits, remaine at Pisa, a Citie in Italy, vnder the dominion of Florence. And in that they be called Stephanits, it is not that they deduct or haue their name of Saint Stephan the Prothomartyr, but of one Saint Stephan, sometime Bishop and Patron of Florence; Canonized

nized amongst the nūber of Saints. Besids the knights of thole two aforesaid orders, there vver in the Christian Nauy sundry Noble men, as Ascanius Cornia, the Marquis of Pescaro, and his brother Ambrois Eftensis, Hercules Verano, Anneis Pius, Capinus, Vincentius, of the Famillie of the Titellij, and sundry others of Noble parentage, and famous in the vvailes.

The Christian Nauy being thus arriued in the Port of Sarragoza, the Viceroy sent immediately D'auri vwith a Gallie and a litle boate into Malta, to the end he should land some person, and to speake vwith Pietro Paccio vwho (as I shewed you before) vvas left at the Watch place of Malta in the Iland, and of him to learne vwhat he had spied, sithence the departure of Salazar. From vwhome he vnderstoode, that no shippes, that vway, vwas seene in the Seas, sithence Salazars departure sauing a Foist vwhich the one and twentith of August in the morning made towards Gozo, and that, that day at night (as he receaved intelligence from the vwatch of Malta,) sixteene Sales of Shippes came and rode at the rodested of Salinas, but vwhether after they went, he could not thorow the darknes of the night obserue the same. Our Christians (this vwhile, right trimly fortifiid themselues vnder the Ruins of Castile, in sundry places thereof couched their Artillery in such sort, that both it was able to beat the enemie on the flank, & to scour also alōgst the rampers ioining to the bulwark of Boninsegna. The Turks, meaning again, to assalt both the towns of Borgo & S. Michael, they first devised as it wer a scaffold made of Timber & boards able to hold y nūber of 30. soldiers, & thele to beset at y breach of S. Michael, y thorough

thorough the Artillery that should be shot from that scaffold, none of the defenders should be able to shew or mount vp his head to defend the place. Which our *Christians* perceiving, they thought the same to be intollerable, and immediately made issue forth, and putting to flight the *Turks* that garded the scaffold, and letting fire in the scaffold, did burne the same. In like maner, vvere the *Turkes* reiected from *Borgo*, that at the ruins of *Castile*, had prepared such an other scaffold, vvhich likewise by the defenders there vvas burnt in peeces. The next night after, our *Christians* that garded the ruins of *Castile*, issued vpon the *Turks* and not onely destroyed the enemies Fortificacions towards that part, but also killed those that had the keeping and custodie of the same, and vvithout losse of any one of the *Christians*, safely retourned into their charge againe.

And albeit that daye and others after, the enemie prooued both vvith theyr Scaffolds againe, and repairing their Fortificacions that vvere cast downe, and other Ingins, to drie the defenders from the vwalls: yet all their pollicies and labours, through the vigilancies and vertues of the Defenders, came to nothing.

The *Christians* deuised a Myne vnder the Ruins of *Castile*; and in the same couched an eight barrells of Pouder, that if the enemies made attempt againe, that vway, they vwould giue fire to the trane, and so blow them vp. And vwhile the *Christians* vvere thus vworking, the *Turkes* vvas likewise myning towardes that part: But the *Christians* perceiving the same, dyd get vnto the *Turkes* Myne, and not onelye getting

from

from them certaine barrels of Pouder, and putting the enemyes to flight, but also destroyed the *Turks* mine, performed their owne mine. In this manner things passing on both sides, *Mustapha* the generall, being very famous & right expert in the art *Militarie*, considering that the most part of the sommer was spent, and that longer he could not well abide, and that stily to stand & continue against an enemie, openeth oftentimes an assured way vnto victory, hee determined therefore with his whole power to assault agayne the Fortres, of *Saint Michael*, wherefore he caused to bee brought forth the chiefe standerd of *Solyman* his prince, vpon the top wher of was a globe of fine gold, and commanded with the same, the souldiours to giue the assalt, and with force to enter the towne, thorough the ruines there made. The souldiours of the *Turks* therwith gaue the charge, and the *Christians* right couragiouslie resisted, a doubtfull conflict was on both sides. And when the *Turkes* were twise repulsed, *Mustapha* in person came vnto the trenches, with his souldiours, & perciuing them to remaine discouraged, he began to require & exhort them not to faile him at that extremity, for that day should performe their former trauiles and victories, and not to permit his enemies, in manner ouercome, to spoile them of their long hoped victory, for the *Christians* haue not a peece of fortification left to couer themselues, all are cast downe, and that neuer a good souldiour of them were then left on iive, sauing a few wearyed & maimed sort of them, that were not able to abide the sharpe edges of their swords, with such pertinacie and stifnesse, they gat at last the castle of *Saint Hermes*. Then

Cc.iii.

accor-

according to the vocation of each souldiour, *Mustapha* promised either mony or honours, mixing threatnings to some, & gentle words of desire, to others. The *Turks* through *Mustapha's* pretence, whether they were stirred vp vwith his tayre promisles, or enforced through his threainings, they ran frethly againe to the assalt, where the conflict of each part was vnderfull furous, but in the end the *Turks* vvere enforced to retire. For our *Christians* had made a dyke, and in the same had couched two field peeces, with vwhich they beate on the slanke, a scaffold couered with ravy hydes against burning, which the enemyes had gotten in there. And at the first stroke, the scaffold was beaten in peeces with the artillery, and forty *Turks* vnder the scaffold vvere also torne in peeces, with the bullets of the same. And the same night those *Christians* that garded in *Borgo*, the bulwark of *Castile*, issued forth vpon the *Turks*, and brake downe all the places of defence of the enemy, nigh vnto the bulwark, & besides wannte a ramper from the *Turks*, vwhich exceeded in height any peece of fortification that the *Christians* had left to defend themselues, and from the same ouerthrew the *Turks*, and dyd put them to flight.

By this, the *Christians* vnderstoode right well, that the *Turks* had no great will to fight, and that theyr courages diminshed, for at that ramper for the garde of the same, were left in manner three hundred *Turkes*, and our *Christians* that gaue the charge vvere not aboue twenty five perlons, and yet those three hundred as it seemed durst not abide our twenty five. Again our *Christians* had made a nyne nygh vnto the ramper of *Castile*,

and

and perceyuing that a certaine number of *Turks* vvere come to that place to reedefie the places of strength vwhich the *Christians* did before cast downe, the *Christians* gaue fire to the place, vtherby sixty *Turks* ther being were blowen vp and slayne. Whyle these things, thus vvere in doing, *Dam Garza* the *Viceroy* of *Sicel* with his whole *Nauy* departed from *Sarragoza*, and having conuenient windes, kept his course vnto the promontorie of *Pachyno*, whan a great shippe was espyed in the sea, which by soule weather as afterward was learned) was brought to that place. That ship came out of the I-land *Meninges*, and was fraughted with victuall, gunpouder, and a great number of shot to haue beeene conveyed to the *Turks* campe in *Malta*. The great ship espyeng the *Christian* fleet, yeelded hir selfe. Which the *Viceroy* in changing hir marriners sent backe to *Sarragoza*, when he with the rest of the fleet kept forth his course towards *Malta*, but the winde changing vpon him, and blowing with such a fury, he with the whole *Nauy* was driven w the Iland *Regusa*, being 220 miles towards the West from *Malta*. Now was the first of *September* come, when the letters of the *Viceroy* came to the great *Maysters* handes, by the vwhich hee signified vnto him that hee would shoredly bee with him with his vwhole *Nauy*, that a *Christian*, a prisone, escaping out of the *Turks* shippes, gate in to the towne of *Borgo*, and told that very few Souldiours meete for any conflict was left on liue in the *Turkes* campe, and that the most part of that army, left on liue, with wounds, famine, & sicknesse was wonderfully weakened, & that daily innumerable of them dyed, saying further that the *Turkes* were pur-

purposed to lay siege to the citie of *Malta*, and had for the lame put in a readinesse ffeue great peeces for the battery, and for the drawing thereof therer, they had gotten first twelue horses, and then foure, which sometime pertayned to garrison of the citie of *Malta*.

In the meane time the *Viceroy* with the Nauy of the *Christians*, which by tempest was put vnto *Aegusa*, ha-
ving conuenient winde to retourne, came backe againe
into *Sicilia* to *Drepano*, and from thence did set saile to-
wards *Gozo*. In sayling, the two gallyes of the *Ioannits*
espying two foists of the *Turks* gaue charge vpon them,
and tooke them, and so the fifth day of *September* came
to *Gozo*. But the *Viceroy* espying no signes out of *Malta*,
for conuenient and safe landing there, returned to *Po-
zalo* in *Sicilia* againe. After whom *Auria* followed, and
shewed that he had seene most certaine signes, out of
Malta for safe landing there, to whose vyords the *Viceroy*
giuing credit, came the day following in the morning
betimes with his whole Nauy to *Gozo*.

That day a fugitiue a *Christian*, stale out of the *Turks*
campe, and came to *Borgo*, layeng hee came of purpose
to bring him glad tidings, that the *Turks*, the day follow-
ing would proue an assalt at *Saint Michiels* fortres, and if
they sped well, they would abide, and if not, to giue vp
the siege and depart. And to the end that the *Turkes*
should haue the better courage to serue, hee promised
to him, that first worthely would fasten his ensigne vp-
on the walls, he shold haue the reward of ffeue talents
of gold, and to promote him also to the higher roomes
in the warres.

The great Master thinking (as alwayes hee did)
that

that almighty God ever prouided such men to giue
him intelligences, he gaue most humble & harty thanks
to God, and then caused euery thing to bee set in a rea-
diness, to ouerthrow the purpose of the cruell enemy.

The *Turks* all that day, with their great artillery,
bete at the houses in *Borgo*, & at the shippes riding in the
port, wherewith a great ship there, was lunke. But *Don
Garza*, in the morning betimes departed with the *Chris-
tian* Nauy from *Gozo*, and passing the straits arived in
Malta, and there landed his Army secretly by point of
day. And while his shippes stayed for him, he marched
forward with the army about a foure furlongs, shewing
to the Captaynes and their lieuetenaunts, what they
should doe, and admonished them all, vnto such time
as they came to the great Maister of *Malta*, every edict
and commandement that generally should bee made
among them, to passe in the name of the king of *His-
paine*; and than at their comming to the great Maister
to obey him as they would doe vnto the king, if hee
were in place. And in the meane time, commaunded
the army to bee vnder the regiment of *Ascanio Cornia*,
and hee to be aduised as the most part of the counsaile
there shoulde order. And so with exhortation of a few
words, leauing the army marching towards the citie of
Malta, the *Viceroy* about noonetide of the day came to
his shippes againe, and with the same sayled towards the
East part of the Iland, and stayed in the sight of the
Cittie of *Malta*, beeing but three miles on the South
from the sea.

Whom when the citie espied it is not to be demanded
if they were ioyfull, for in an assured signe and token of
Dd. gladnesse

gladnesse, they vnbended the whole artillery of the citie.

The Viceroy agayne hearing the same, caused the gunners of the whole navy, to answere the citie, with blowing of twise of all the artillery in the Christian fleet. That done the Viceroy returned into Sicilia, to receiue into the Nauy, the bands of the duke of Urbine, and of certaine Spaniards, that were stayeng at Messana & Sarragoza, and with them to returne towards Malta, to follow and persecute the Nauy of the Turks, which in manner was vnauided. The Turkes this while, that purposed to assaule the fortres of Saint Michael agayne, & so to proue if they could win the same, a few dayes before the coining of the Christian navy, had begun to packe, and gather together their necessaries, but vnderstanding of the arriuall of the Christian fleet, and landing of the Christians army, immediately some sounded the alarme, some crying to remoue, and so meruaylous fearefull, every one seeking for the couisell that was thought best, some began to fly away, some to take weapon in hand, but the most part of the Turkes marching to the trenches resirred theyr artillery, and did set fire in the fortifications that could bee burnt, and so with as much expedytion as they could they drew their artillery and the rest of their baggage into their ships.

Which when the garrison of Borgo perceyued they manfully issued our, and gaue charge upon certayne bands of Turkes that were at a place called Bormota, garding a great and mighty peece of artillery.

The Turkes having no lust to fight, fled away apace leaving the great peece in the possession of the Chris-

tians

tians, which the Christians with force drew into Borgo, and if at that time, the new supply of the Christians had berne there in a readynesse, and to haue giuen charge on the backe of the enemyes, while they were thus in hasting to theyr shippes, either they had opened to themselves a manitest path way of victory ouer the Turks, or else to haue spoyled them of the most part of their great artillerie.

But I thinke if the new supply had bene there present perhaps they would rather haue followed the ancient opinion of famous men of warre saying; *Hosti abeunt viam sternendum esse, pontemq; vel argenteum faciendum, give way to a flying enemie, yea and if you makeder him a bridge of siluer, Albeit the garrisones of Borgo and Saint Michael, (by reason of their rich vittuall & other necessaries appertayning to further besiegging if neede were, which through the vnequallitie of the wayes & lacke of horses, was verie difficultie and with much labour on foote brought to them from the citie) thought not requisit to trouble the flying enemie, with further skirmishes. Wherby the Turks shipped their carriage artillery, and the most part of their army, without great let or impediment. So the xi of September the Turkish navy departed from Porto Mafetto, wherin a fugitive a Genoa born came to the prince Valet saying, that 10000 Turks were landed againe, & marching towards the citie of Malta, to fight with the armie of the Christians, which were coining towards Borgo. Which when the great Maister heard immediatly hee sent certaine bands, to seaze the fortresse of Saint Hermes, and thereto fite the ensigne of the sacred order.*

Dd.ii.

Who

Who accordingly forthwith departing, tooke the possession of the Fortres vvhetherin they found foure and twentie peeces of Artillerie, great & small: vvhich the Turkes (hauing no further leasure) could not take away vvhith them.

The Nauie of the Turks this vvhile departing from *Porto Musetto*, passed vnto the *Port of Saint Paule*, and there dyd set on land seuen thousand Turkes, vnder the leading of *Mustapha*, their Generall by land. Who had intelligence giuen him that the vvhole Armie of the *Christians* vvhich newly vvere come, exceeded not the number of three thousand soldiours. And therefore being the more bold to fight, by reason of the litte number vvhich he supposed that vve vvere of, he marched on proudly towards the Citie of *Malta*, and in his vway thereward, *Mustapha* discouered the Armie of the *Christians*. Who espyeng the *Turks*, and ready to fight, marched forward couragiouly against them, and encountering vpon a hill, the *Christians* valiantly gaue charge vpon the *Turks*; at vvhich first encounter few vvere slaine of either side. But in the ende by reason that our number vvas both greater and our force therewith the more, the *Turks* gaue back and fled, the *Christians* followed, killing and ouerthrowing them, vnto such tyme the rest vvere driuen to their shippes, but vvhilst each one clustered to get to their nauy through somuch hast, there perished in the sea about foure hundred *Turkes*, and a thousand and eight hundred slaine on the land. So as if our *Christians* had bene expert of the places, and knowne the land, there needed not one of the *Turkes* to haue escaped away on liue.

The

The *Turks* beeing thus beaten into theyr ships, stayed still with their Nauy in the port of *Saint Paule*, all the next day following, & a great part of the next night then before day in shoting of a warning peece being a signe of their departure, they set sayle and departed towards *Grecia*, leauing the Iland of *Malta*, shamefully wasted and empoverished.

Thus the *Turks* beeing driuen out of *Malta*, to their notable calamitie and overthrow, the *Prince Valet* made victorious with immortall glory, caused generall processions and prayers to bee made to almighty God for his infinit benefits to them shewed in this carefull time, as crybing the chiefest cause of this victory to his inexprefable goodnes, then *Valet* distributed to the worthy seruitures, that honorably had behaued themselues al this while, condigne rewards, in praysing openly euery one according to his demerits with continuall thankes to them all for their great paines, and trauayles passed. Vnto the wounded and sicke he had such tender regard for the restitution of their health, as though it had ben to himselfe. Hee lamented much the destruction & wasting of the country of *Malta*, and earnestly deuised for the repaying thereof againe. Amongst all these things he did not forget to learne, which way, or whether, the enemy this while passed, & what he pretended, which many, in the middes of theyr victory, letteh passe, for which cause euery one hath giuen this worthy *Valet* the name of a most prudent, valiauntr, and courteous prince, and as one prepared of God, to remaine on the earth, to the defence of his sacred religion, that during his life, euery thing vnder his charge, cannot but remaine

Dd.iii.

fortu-

fortunate and prosperous: About this time Soliman sent a mightie Armie to inuade Hungarie, which, the Spring time after, he himselfe in person followed: thorough vvhole comming, vyhole Germany (as it had good cause,) was meruailously afrayed, and gathered themselues together.

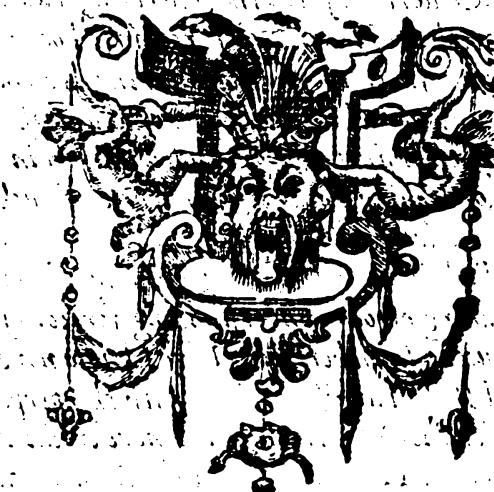
The Germans of auncient tyme haue, wth other nacions, rather for glory than their owne safegarde, made warres. But vvithe the Turks rather for their owne safetie, they haue alwaies foughten, that is to say, for any glory that they haue fought thereby. Howbeit Maximilian the Emperour gathering toghether a great Army against Soliman, proceeded and layed siege to a place called Vespasia, and dyed by assalt vvinne the same from the Turks. But Soliman upon an other part wth whom the Emperour seyest and Iula, being two places of no litle importance.

Whan as the fift of September, Anno 1566. Soliman the Emperour in the course and rase of his victories ended his lyfe in the famous Citie of Quinque Ecclesie: vvhich of five Churches in the same is so called. To vvhom his sonne Silimus succeeded in his Empire, and donissons vvhich he were like in condicions, either to his father Soliman, or to his grandfather Selymn, and Germany to continue in his Intestine and inward contencions and diuisions, as it still doth, it is to be muche feared but that it vwould happen to Germany which alredy hath chaunced to the infortunat countryes of Thracia, Dacia, Mesi, and the most part of their wroful and miserable neighbour the Kingdom of Hungary.

For

For it is an assured and very true sayeng that Nulla tam magna tamq; firma potentia est, quam discordia non committat et perdat. There is no Kingdome or Power, be it never so great and mightie, vvhich discord and ciuill discencion in it selfe, doth not distroy and bring to confusion.

The end of the third Booke.



To the three worshipfull brothers worthy Patrons of vertue and all good Arts, Robert Carr,
William Carr, and Edward Carr, in the Countie
of Lincolne Esquiers: Raffe Carr their most
affectionate kinsman wisheth
all content.

Auing Right worthy Gentlemen, formerly made knowne to euery of you: by such simple remembrances as my power could afford, how much I desire & dayly studie in particular to serue & honor you: I thought it now not amisse, treating of one argument comd of the same kindred, & derived from the general obseruations which euery where with profit in these three first bookees are to be gathered, thus ioyntly to you all to participate this common good: For if the use which every one ought arightly to make in the reading of Histories, be grounded chiefly in the election of taking, or leauing, the better, or worse, of such things as by examples are faithfully propounded: which upon occasions should be applied either to the well gouerning of a priuate life, or to the enabling of our understanding for counsell in our countries seruice; In either part I say I know none, (of many who haue had these Turkish affaires with the perpetuall felicitie in consideration) to whome with more credit a man may giue beleefe, then to Hubert Folieta the Genuoys, whilst with much wisedome, grauitie, and discretion, he handleth though briefly, the causes of the greatnessse of the Turkish Empire, to his deere friend the famous Captaine Marcus Antonius Columna. A treatise I suppose to euery conceauing man, or such whome the care of a common good doth possesse very acceptably

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ceptable. This same therfore for the former alleged reasons, haue I heere annexed, so faithfully as I could perswade the nice Italian tongue to speake our proper language. To which I haue further added, (that the occasion of this discourse might the better be apparent,) the narration of the war of Ciprus, held betwixt the Turk and Venetians, some xxx yeeres agoe. In which their wars, the Venetians being exceedingly ouerborne, (notwithstanding that notable victorie obtained by them and their confederates in the Gulfe of Corinth,) made priuely their peace, without knowledge giuen therof either to the Pope, or king of Spaine, who in these wars had ben their associats: whilst Marcus Antonius Columna, Pope Pius quintus general, alwaies in opinion against the same, persuaded to his power the contrary: & that so worthy an occasion of further victory, should not so unworlily be relinquished. Of which matter imparting his mynde to his friend Folieta, it became the subiect of this ensuing discourse: wherin Folieta not intermeddling with what the Venetians had done, onely layes downe in general such causes, (as by great reason may be thought) of those fortunate successes which houerly attend the Turkish Ensignes. To which I had rather remit you, then longer to detaine with the harshnes of an ill pleasing Episile. And now hauing for the present done that due obseruance to you all, of me long both determined, and desired: I most earnestly beseech you to take my boldnesse in good part, void of all saucie presumption: my meaning as it is, clothed in a sincere will alwaies to serue & honor you: & my request as I shall deserue, for euer to be preserued in your good opinion. Wherwith if you shall so much grace me, I protest there can no one thing giue more fulnesse to much of that happiness which in this world I affect: wherof nothing distrusting, though meanely deserving, I take my leue and rest.

Your most bounden for euer
Raffe Carr.

THE NARRATION
of the warres of *Cyprus*, held
betwixt the *Venetians*, and the *Turks*,
during the yeeres 1570.
and 1571.



Cyprus, so called by reason of the rich Copper Mynes therein contained, plentiesfull, and abounding in excellent Wynes, Wheate, Oyle, & Suger: being in deed that true *Mecarian Isle* vnder xxxv. degrees of the Poles elevation: standeth in the Gulse *Issicus*, distant twentie *German* myles from *Syria*, containing in length fiftie miles, of the sayd *German* measure, but in breadth ten or twelue at the most, and in diuers places less.

Salamis, the Citie of *Cyprus*, built by *Teucer Aaride*: held for their Kings for many discents: the same *Teucrians*, of yvhich race *Euagoras*, and *Nicocles* vvere, men celebrated and made famous by *Isoocrates* Orations: To these *Teucrians* succeeded the *Ptolomees*: to them the *Romans*: vnder vvhose gouernment, although much and grieuously vexed by the *Saracines*, they continued firme and constant, vnto the time of *Andronicus Commenus*, and *Henry the sixt Emperors*: For about the yeere 1190 *Richard the sonne of Henry the second, King of England*, sayling towards *Palestine*, and put from landing in that Island, by *Isaac Commenus* then the gouernour, tooke the same by force: vvhich afterwards he gaue to *Guy of Lusignan*, (sonne in law of King *Almerick*, vvhich had lost the *Citic of Hierusalem*) in exchange,

for

for the bare title and name to him and his posterities of the sayd Crowne of *Hierusalem*.

The issue and lyne of vvhich *Guy*, enioyed the sayd Kingdome of *Cyprus* 250. yeeres, vntill the tyme that *Peter* reigned, vvhich was taken prisoner by the *Souldan* of *Egypt*, but afterward vpon Tributarie condicions restored, to vvhich *Peter* succeeded *Peter the sonne*, vvhich at the death of his Father, being very young, vvas afterward married to *Helena Paleologa*, and by hir had issue *Carlotta*, married first to *John*, King of *Portugall*. But lastly to *Lewes*, Duke of *Sauoy*, vvhich *Lewes* for a small time reigned King of *Cyprus*.

This second *Peter*, had likewise a bastard issue, called *James*, vvhich by the help of the *Souldan* of *Egypt* expellid from the kingdome of *Cyprus* the sayd *Lewes* of *Sauoy*. *James* tooke to vvyte *Katherin*, the daughter of *Marcus Cornelius*, adopted by the state of *Venice*, vvhich being vwith childe by hir husband, (and he before hir deliuerie dyeng, in the yeere 1470.) The said Common vvealthe, tooke to their charge, both the mother, childe, and Kingdome. But shortly after the enfant dyed, supposed to haue bene poisoned by the practise of that state: vvhich solely thereby possesing themselves of the kingdome, reduced the same into the forme of a Province: *Katherin* the mother being brought back to *Venice*, vvhich liued to the yeere 1510. Now *Selymus* the first Emperour of the *Turks*, after the vtter oppressing of the *Souldans*, and taking of the kingdome of *Egypt*, caused the yeerely revenue vvhich beeefore vvas accustomed to be paied to the said *Souldans* by the kings of *Cyprus*, of all such merchandise as were brought in or transpor-
red

Eeij.

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ted thence, to be set in certaine 8000 Duckets, vpon condicion of which painēt by way of a yeerely tribute he freely graunted to the *Venetians* as to his vaslals, the possession of the said Ile: which painēt of 8000 ducats, the *Venetians* onely would suppose to be graunted as an honorable reward, or gratuitie, & in no sort as a tribute:

But *Selymus* the second demauding of the said *Venetians* by a Harrauld, the Fee & possessiō of *Cyprus*, which hetherto hee alleadged they had held vnder condicion of a yerely tribute, affirmed their whole right, (so they had any) to be extinguished, & the Intrest to be deuolued, & comd back to him, as the superior & Paramount Lord: Because contrary to the allegiance due to the lord of the Fee, the said *Venetians* had giuen harbrough, and receipt, vnto certaine *Spanish* Pirats, enemies to the sayd *Selymus*, who by the licence of the *Venetian* Magistrates, had brought into *Cyprus*, & ther made sale of great pilage & certain booties taken out of *Cilicia*: And although diuers other of the *Turkish* Emperours had tollerated the said *Venetians* to vwithould vwhat vvas not their right, yet he the sayd *Selymus* had in determination to haue his due: vwith vwhich if in good accord they vwould be content to depart, he vwas not in any sort to violate their bonds of amitie, or breakē the peace, but vwould endeauour in euery degree to aduance the estimation of that common vwealth. If otherwise, yet he the sayd *Selymus*, vwas not to forgoe his right, vvoile meaning vvas to recouer the same by force.

The *Venetians* vpon this message, although (by the scarcitie of prouision and vittailes vwhich for diuers yeeres

yeeres before they had endured, as likewise by the firing of their Arsenall, (wherein the yeere precedent, their whole sea preparation had ben consumed,) they were mightely perplexed and amated, yet with noble resolution they returned aunlwere, that the sayd *Selymus* had no iust cause why to bereave them of their iurisdiction in *Ciprus*, which now for a hundred yeeres, in right of inheritance they had peaceably posseſſed, and that the yeerely pension accustomed to be paid to the *Souldans* of *Egipt*, was no tribute dew to him, as to the superior lord, but onely an honorable gratuity, whereby the kings of *Cyprus* were accustomed to acknowledge their thankfulness vnto the said *Souldans*, as to their benefactors and friends, by whose help Peter sometimes the king there had recouered the same. In which their good caute they made no doubt of gods assistance, by whose aide and help, they had decreed & nothing doubted with force of armes to repell the violence and iniuries of *Selimus*: and to defend *Ciprus*.

This anlwere returned to *Constantinople*, all the merchants of *Venice* trading there, were presently apprehended, their goods sealed, and *Pial Bassa* Admirall at sea, with a navy, *Mustapha Bassa* with an army by land, (conducted through *Asia* and *Cilicia*) were sent against *Ciprus*. Whilst in the meane time at *Venice*, *Petrus Lauredanus* duke of that common wealth, by grieſe and discontent dyed, during whose gouernment many heauie mischances, and calamities, had befallen that state, oþthers more daungerous daily ensuing. To this *Lauredanus* with great applause of the people, *Lodonicus Mocinega* succeeded. The generall appointed for this war of *Ciprus*,

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prin^{ce}, was Hieronimus Zanius an old man, high four score yeeres of age, yet of much viuacitie and abilitie in body, who slowly coasting along *Ladra* and *Coryras*, made thereabouts, whilst the rest of the Navy should approach, an idle and vnpromiseful aboade, but in the end houlding course towards *Creet*, hee there continued, as he had in command expecting the ayding forces of the Pope, the king of Spaine, & of Cosmus duke of Florence.

But now whilst these affayres were in this sort carried by them, Piali B.^{ey}sa the Turkish Admirall, first putting a strong garrison in *Rhodes*, aryued at *Micarium in Cyprus*, ypon the Calends of June, whether Mustapha B.^{ey}sa had likewise transported both his foote and horse forces, without any worlds resistance. Now the Venetians a little beforre had fortified the citie of *Nicofia* (distant from the sea coast seauen *German* myles, and which in former ages had both ben the seat of theyr kings & an Archbuthops sea,) with cleane bulwarks & a garrison of two thousand soldiors, vnder the government of *Nicholaus Tonditus* & *Astor Baleonius*. This city Mustapha (being without impeachment master of the field) besieged, erecting round about the same many fortis and sconces; which having by a whole moneth both battered & often assailed, was in the end taken by force, where hee repaying the ruins of the said fortifications, and planting therin a garrison, enforcing the course of his further victory, ypon the 16. of September, the same yeere he began to lay siege to *Famagusta*.

On which day, the Christians who had lingered all this while about *Creet*, with a nauy of 200 ships, wholie ignorant what things had happt at *Cyprus*, and now setting

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ing sayle from *Heraclea Sentia*, not far of encountered *Londonicus Bembus*, who recounted the losse of *Nicosia*, wherupon the generals of the fleet Hieronimus Zanius, John Andreas Auria, & Marcus Antonius Columna, with others calling a counsaile of war, through different & delaying opinions, whervnto may be added the misfortune of a horrible tempest which dispersed the fleet, lost both opportunity, & the aduantage of executing any honourable attempt. In which their consultations it was chietely argued, that now the haruest being far spent, & the winter drawing neere, the nauigation of the *Pamphilian seas* would be exceeding dangerous, besides if ought shoud fall out otherwise then well, there was no where thereabouts safe harbrough for the ships. That the Turks now becomd insolent through the successe of their late victory would fight with greater courage then before, hauing besides all the hauens & other harbroughs friend unto them, whom it was not now possible by any meanes as matters were fallen forth, to expell from *Cyprus*. The confederates further alledging that they were sent onely in ayde of the Venetians, not to recover things once lost, but to give let least ought shold be lost, which occasion since it could not be holden, it was thought most conuenient againe to returne to *Creet* & the gulfe of *Venice*. Andreas Auria likewise alledged for himselfe, how he had in command from the king of Spaine his Maister to come back with his nauy in the end of September, whervpon this Christian captaunes casting away both hope, & counsel, of recovering *Cyprus*: & retyring backe were before they could recover *Creet*, with great stormes of winde, they and their whole flote miserably afflicted.

Now

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Now when they were arived at Creet, *Andrea Auri*a craued licence to depart, that so he might obey his princes command, from whom hee had in charge, for the reducing of his fleet to *Messana* in *Sicilia*: which the generall of the *Venetians* did not deny him. Whom *Hieronimus Zanius* himselfe, within few daies followed, leauing behinde him with the charge of the army & chiefe command *Sebastian Venerio*, but the said *Zanius* ariuing at *Corcyra*, the tenete of *Venice*, with much contempt did there abrogate his authority, and from thence sent him to *Venice* prisoner.

So this yeere thus vnprofitably spent, and with infinit charge wastfullly cast away, this *Christian* fleet furnished of euery thing requisite, as souldiours, captaines, munition, mony, victualls, and in deede what nor, who had in admirable expectation of some worthy exployt drawen the eyes of all *Europe*, most by their variable, different, and deluding counsells, partly by tempests & the pestilence, which in short time had consumed many numbers of gallie slaves, and marriners, became vtterly frustrate.

When *Pialis Bassa* (who by spyes had understande of the departure of *Auri*a, and the *Venetians* from *Cree*) passing by *Rhodes*, and after by the *Creder Islands*, returned to *Constantinople*. But *Mustapha Bassa*, that had taken *Nicosia*, and now enforcing the course of his victory, had besieged *Famagosta*, nee I say leauing it the hastborrough and other parts of the Island sufficient strength against incursions, drew the residue of his forces to winter in other garrisons.

Now the *Venetians* having theyr Nauy thus return-

ned without aught vorthelie executed: created a triuuirate Capitall, for the finding forth and punishing of all such as arightly might be sayd to haue bene faultie in that fleet, whereby that expedition had no better successe, their wars prouised to so small purpose spent, and so great an ouerthrow, vwith derogation to the honor and reputation of the *Venetian* name, had happened.

They likewise laboured to compounde a Peace vwith the *Turks*, for vwhich cause they sent to *Constantinople*, *Jacobus Ragazonus*, to deale vwith *Mahomet Bassa*, vwhom they vwell hoped to haue found fauorable, and better inclining thervnto, then the rest.

But all this in vaine, therefore vwith great care and industrie they procure the contract of a league, or confederacie betwixt themselves: the *Pope Pius Quintus* & *Phillip king of Spaine*: by sundrie extraordinarie meanes they leuie huge summes of monie, and repaire vwith larger prouision, their vweather-beaten and vnaarmed Gallies of *Corcyra*. Committing the whole charge and commaund of these affaires to *Sebastian Venerio*, then Gouvernour of *Creet*, vwhilst in the meane time *Pertai Bassa* made by *Silimus* high Admirall of all the Turkish forces by Sea, landith in *Cyprus*, a new power, and *Mustapha Bassa*, chiefe Generall of all the Armie by land, vwith much extremitie, as hardly besieged the Citie of *Famagosta*: vwan the vworthie Captaines *Marcus Antonius Bragadenus*, *Astor Beleonius*, *Lodouicus Martinigius*, and *Laurencius Tempolus*; most valiantlie for the said *Venetians* defended.

The Citie *Famagosta*, is seated in the East part of that
Ff. Isle

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Isle towards the *Syrian sea*, not farre from *Constantia*, famous for that worthy Bishop *Epephanius*, vwhich is supposed to be the same *Sataniis* antiquity inhabited of those kings of *Tenuria*. This Citie of *Famagusta*, vvas buile and enlarged by *Henry of the Famely of Lusignana*, King of *Cypræ*, about the yrete of Christ 1295. at vhat tyme *Ptolemas* vvas lost, (vwhich vwhilst it was possessed of the Christians, vvas that famous Staple vherein the trafficke of all commodities comming either from the *East* or *West* continents, vvas exercised.) But *Famagusta* although both by Nature and Art strongly fortifiid, beeing besieged and assalted by this huge Armie of the Turkes, with all meanes which open vvarre, or secret policie, could devise: at length after eleauen monthes defence, vweakened vwith extremities, and voyde of all hope or ayde, vwas brought to those difficulties, as they vvere enforced to render the same to *Mustapha*, vpon composition, that so their liues, goods, and the vse of Religion to those Christians that would remaine ther, should be free: & to the rest not willing, passage might be had & safe cōduct to depart.

But the perfidious *Turke*, (little regarding his faith, or Soldiours assurance formerly giuen) vwhen the said Captains and Magistrats, accompanied vwith a trayne of their valiant & vvarlike companions, (to whom by name he had giuen their safe conducts) approached his tent, gaue order all, should be kild, *Anthonius Bragadenus* onely excepted, to whom after three severall commands in his presence to haue his head cut of, yet changing his purpose for the greater ignomerie, permitted his nose onely

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onely & ears to be lopt away.

And vheras three hundred besids of the Christians, were come forth into the Camp vpon securitie of the peace, there as the rest, he bid should be pittifullly slain. And for such as were gone abord the ships in hope to haue sailed for *Croer*, he cauled them besids the dispoling of their goods, to be made all Gally slaves. After which, *Mustapha* the next day entring the Citie, *Tenpolus* by his command was strangled. And *Anthonius Bragadenus* ycities gouernor thus deformed & dismēbred in his nose and ears, after he had by way of mockery carried in shew about the most special, & famous parts of the citie, reviling him with all kinde of villanies, caused his skin whilste he was yet quicke, to be stearne of: the which torment *Bragadenus* with great constancie endured, calling God for witnessse & reuenge of so monstrous crutie, and perfidious brech of faith.

These things thus executed in *Cyprus*, the Turkish nauie on purpose to vich hould the *Venetians* from attempting ought for the regayning of the fayd Isle, entered the Gulf of *Venice*, persecuting all such Cities on the coast of *Dalmatia*, both by sea and land, as vvere vnder the obediencie of the fayd *Venetians*.

Whilst in the meane tyme the confederate Nauie of the Christian Princes verie leasurely vvere assembled at *Sigilia*. The Generall whereof vvas *Don John de Austria*, the base begot sonne of *Charles the fift*, and brother to *Philip King of Spaine*, vwho embarking at *Barcelona*, brought vith him along to *Genua*, *Rodolph*, and *Ernestus*, the sonnes of *Maximilian*, the second, then Emperour.

Ff.ij.

From

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From whence going to Naples, and thence sailing to Messana in Sicilia, he there expects the rest of the associate leaguers, which were one hundred and eight Gallicies of the Venetians, from Crete, and elsewhere, thirtie from Naples, twelve from Panormos, twelve from Genua, vnder the conduct of Andreas Auria: twelve from the Pope, whose Captaine was Marcus Antonius Columna, foure from Malta, with some others out of Spaine which all of them should ther meete together. Where now though late, being assembled vpon the fourth of September, they vveyed their Ancors in Messana Port: and coasting the Salentine, and Lacinian promontorie, they passed the Ilands of Corcyra and Cephallenia, and came to the Gulfe of Corinth, where they vnderstood that the Turkish fleete at the Ilands Echinades, were then remayning.

In this Turkish Naue, were thiese of commande: Hali Bassa the Admirall, Pertai Bassa, Lusalis King of Alger, Hamson sonne of Barbarossa, the Strate of Alexandria, with others to whom the great Seignior had giuen command, that in any case the Christian fleete should not alone be fought with, but ouercome.

Where ioyning in Battell with the Christians, in the sayde Gulfe of Corinth, vpon the Nones of October, G O D giuing vs the victorie, the Turkes were vvhollie discomfited and enforced to flye. Their great Admirall shippe taken, Hali Bassa slaine, and some thousands of Captiue Christians whiche were slaues in the Turkish Fleet, set at libertie.

For which Victorie, generallie thorough Europe there was thanks publickly giuen to God, with other spectacles

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spectacles & strewes of lyv, yet for all that those worthy capraines left no footing of any other memorable exploit or trophe puld from the empire of the Turkish tyrant, as was well supposed they might, who notwithstanding the same held not onely the wholie Isle of Cyprus, but many townes besides in Dalmatia before taken, amongst which Vicinium and Docleum wonne by force were not the least.

In the yeere 1571 then next following the Venetians both feeling and tearing the forces of that mighty enemy, wherwith they were well nigh opprest, made preparation againe for all things needfull to these wars. But vwhilst nevv stirs in the lyv countryes, and borders of France, did seeme to entember king Philip: the succours from the confederates long in comming, Don John de Austria, about the Calends of September repayred to the place of appointment, and the associates with their fleet, scarce shewing themselues to the Turkes at Peloponnesus, without ought else worthie of that preparation, had retired to their places of vvintering. The Venetians I say, supposing themselues forsaken, and left to themselves, without the priuily of any other their confederates priuely made peace with Selymus.

Of which vwhile divers men, diversly did dispute according as affection or fancy led them, Marcus Antonius Columna Admirall of the Popes naue (who in this expedicion was a companion and associate to John de Austria, the chiefe generall) amongst others was in opinion cleere against and improuing the same peace, condoling the deed, and constantly affirming so noble a victory thus got against the Turks, was to haue beene

Ff.iii.

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prosecuted with all might and mayne, which not onely in his publike and familiier conferences, hee had often protested, but likewise had affirmed by his letters, (writ to his auncient friend Hubert Folietta of Genua,) wherunto whilst hee the said Folietta returnes aunswere, and his opinion withall, hee further takes occasion therupon to touch some causes of the greatnessse, of the Turkish Empire, with their perpetuall felicitie and good successe in those their warring affayres, the which for that it is most worthy to he read, as well for the excellent wit therein contayned, as for the great profit, and pleasure which thereby may be conceyued, I thought it not vnbeffiting heereunto to haue it annexed.



The causes of the greatnessse of the Turkish Empire, written by Hubert Folietta of Genua, to the famous Capaine, Marcus Antonius Columna.

O V write most worthy Columna, what great griefe you conceive, in considering this peace, thus concluded betwixt the Turks and Venetians, being ashamed as you say, of the condicione of vs Christians, that notwithstanding the memorable sea victory gotten against them by the confederate princes, (wherein your selfe, with that most fortunate prince, Don John de Austria was both a counsellor and companion in command,) then which since the suppression of the Romain empyre, there was never seene or heard any more famous, yet notwithstanding the greate joy thereon conceived is todaynely settled, the hopes from so happy beginnings which had enflamed good mens mindes in short time vanished, and the preparations of so high and excellent counsells come to naught.

For my owne part (sir) I am in opinion, that not onely the griefe but the shame is to all noble mindes, as to your selfe in common. What the determination of the Venetians was therein, as I doe not well know, so if I did, it is not needfull that I should detect it. For there are some as it is well knownen to you, vvhich mighty disallow of vwhat is done, and are much discontent, that they through pusillanimity, and sodaine

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dispaſte ſould ſo giue vp their friends, who for theyr ſakes alone, had thrust themſelues in the dangers and charge of thofe warres, to which opinion I perceiue you ſpecially inclining. Others thinking otherwise and excuſing them doe auſwer that the *Venetians* perciuing it lay not in their power, alone to manage theſe warres with ſufficient might, and ſeeing few other of *Christian* prouinces and princes, ought prouoked by ſo worthe and good beginnings, or happy ſuccesse, wherby to take part either in paynes or charge, or to lay hould with the ſaid confederates of ſo fayre an occaſion, to conioyne the forces, and to reuenge ſo many iniuryes, in all former times receaued, now especially when it was ſuppoſed, that the *Turkes* were vtterly diſpoyleſd and left naked, both of friends, ſhips, or ſea forces, and thereby had opportunity to expell them, from forth whole Europe.

But chiefly the *Germaine* princes fayling, whom the many attempts of the *Turks*, againſt their ſtate hath continually, with offenſive armes vexed, afflieted with infinite loſſes, and neareſt of all others, to the dan- ger had beene in theſe affayres, for theyr owne ſafetie to haue giuen them furtherance. All which moтиues to others, ſmally auayling the ſaid *Venetians*, and therefore deſtitute vtterly of hope, nor daring to ſupport themſelues, in the ſuccours of their confederates, knowing what enemy, they had in hand, they were compelled to prefer wholesome & commodious counſell, rather then plauſible, and ſo without obſtinacy to their deſtruclion, (as was ſuppoſed) to prouide for theyr priuate affayres. Thus theſe thinges in both parts, diuersly diſputed, ac- cording

of the Turkish Empire.

III

cording as euery man his affection or paſſion per- ſwades him therunto. My ſelfe vwill leauē of vncertaine estimation, indifferent, to euerie mans oþne peculiār Judgement, vwithout interpoſing myne, elſeciallie when the matters handled are to ſmall purpose, the deede done not to be vndone, and that euerie expo- ſtulation is friuolus, vwhich is vwithout fruit.

But rather lett mee communicate with you, my honorable friend, in that whereof your Letters giue good occaſion, and which may perhaps, bring with it to vs, both ſome profit, detecting ſuch my cogita- tions, as often and long haue encombred my ſecret thoughts, and manifesting therein my opinion, which without ſome gaine, I hope ſhall not retourne againe. For if what my conceit is herein ſhalbe allowed by you, a man of ſo great estimation for wiſedome, and ac- cuſtomed to the managing of high affaires, then ſhall I think my ſelfe assuredly protected from the calumi- na- tions of all maligners: or if not allowed, yet ſhall I giue occaſion by my writing, wherby you may remoue the errore, which for long hath taken poſſeſſion in my minde, and ſo in both theſe parts, it ſhall draw mee aduantage.

The effect whereof is, that as I haue alwaies hou- den theſe *Turkis* affayres to be both fearefull and pre- iudicialell to the good estate of all *Christian* Prouin- ces, yet now more then at any time am I driuen into a vvondefull admiration of the ſame, vwho hauing ſo great a Naue vanquished, conſiſting of a huge num- ber of ſhippes of vvarre, vwhereof part were ſounck at ſea, part taken by our men, together vwith ſo great pro-

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The causes of the greatnessse

uision of munition and all other things befitting the vvarres, devoured by the deepes : besides no small number of vvorthe vvarriours, Capaines of famous memory, expert Nauigators, (vvhilereof there is great scarcitie euerie vvhile) vvhich in that battell perished; all of them being such things as by any accident once lost are hardly to be recouered in many yeeres continuance, yet such and so great is found the forces and faculties of those *Turkes*, as notwithstanding all these losses vvhith indaunted courages, forthwith they haue fittid a nother Fleet, litle inferiour to the first, vvhich prouided and at all points furnished, against the beginning of the following Sommer, sett sayle to Sea, daring to shew them selues in sight of our victorious Fleet, vvhith semblance not to yeelde one foote to flight, so ours hadde bene so aduenturous to haue comd on.

Of vvhich matters vvhilst often I haue reasoned vvhith my selfe, and searcht vwhat vvere the causes of so much greatnessse, vwhat artes & meanes had brought them to so much estimation, and how they could attaine such excellent perfection in euery millitarie function. Together how it comes to passe, that so many of our men should continually reuolt, and abiuring all Christian rites, becomes affectors of that impious *Mahumetane* sect, vvhilst on the other part vve finde none or very few of those repaying vnto vs.

Of these things I say, vvhilst vvhith my selfe I often argue vwhat I conceaue, may it please you heere to see sett downe,

First

First I hould that in both parts this case giues rather cause of pittie, then admiration :

For beholding so manie Nations and People conjoyned vvhith vs in the indissoluble bondes of Christian Charitie and Religion, vwho to our and a number of Christian Princes shames, are daylie borne downe vvhith the heauie burthen of captiuitie, vvhilst vwee neither vvhith care enter into the consideration of these things, or harbour the least thought in our hertes, to make them succour :

I say it is to be lamented, that so much blidenesse should haue thus possessed our mindes, vwhen in deed the miseries of our opprest brothers, ought no lesse moue vs to commisferation, then if the like daunger vvere discending vpon our owne heads.

We see this dayly increasing flame, catching hould of vwhatsoever comes next, still to proceed further, nor that the infatiable desire of dominion in these *Turkes* canne vvhith any riches be content, or vvhith the gayning of many mightie and vwealthie Kingdomes be so settled, but of vwhat is this daye gotten, to morrow they build a new ladder vvh hereby to clymbe to the obteyning of some newer purchase.

And vvhich to feare, is more fearefull. That vvhether as every bondage in it selfe is hatefull and far worse in condicione then Death, yet that of the *Turkes* of all other is most crewell, most execrable: Who hould it not enough to bring the Prouinces in obedience, vnlesse all be vnder, vwho either excelled in Witte, Fortune, vwealth, or honour, all the Nobilitie slaughtered,

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tered, or commauded into farre distaunt and remote Countries, vvhorne beereauing the exercise of euerie Noble Science, stripping of all necessarie ornaments, deformed and mishapte in all basenesse, at length be brought to vwhat fulnesse of miserie may bee imagined.

And for those our brothers, vwhich is the second point in our grieve propounded,) I know not vwhether it vvere better fitting to deplore their condicione, then to detest their hatefull Impietie, vwho bevvitched with the fayre shoe of a frayle and very smal good, renounce the euerlasting and Celestiall riches, abiure Christian Religion from Heauen discended, and by the sonne of Almighty G O D, to vs men deliuered, vwhich onely all other meanes shut vpp, makes free passage, and layes open the path that leades to eternall Blessednesse, and the Kingdome of Heauen.

These things as I first sayde, (deare friend) are to bee pittied, and vvhercin vve are vwith all endeaour to labour, least at any tyme the lyke may happe to vs, or vve brought to the same passe, then vwhich in miserable miserie there is neither state nor place more abiect.

Now for this much admired Turkish glorie, and so many yeeres succesfull Felicitie, vvhilfist few aright enter into consideration, perhaps it may seeme vwith some verie straunge, yet in my conceit neither are the things them selues vnnusuall, nor the causes thereof obscure, vwhich then the better shall appeare, if one by one vvc compare and examine their

their fashions, lawes, counsayles, and discipline, with those other of vs *Christians*.

First then none will deny me I am sure, but that amongst these causes, vvhich extoll kingdomes & common wealths, to great wealth, much power, and high estimation, religion before the rest is to bee preferred, which religion containeth in it a double function, one is most excellent and devine, and the same for which at first religion, was by heauenly prouidence, enspired into mans minde: this (as I sayd formerly) beeing the onely and most certaine guide, conducting to immortall blessednesse, then which was never greater gift granted to men by Almighty God, whose operation is such, as in regard therof it drawes our affections to esteeme all riches, all pleasures, kingdomes and commandes, or what may be thought precious in this life, to bee vilde and of no valew: according to that saying, what shall it auayle mortallity, to obtaine the dominion of the world, so in the end he make shipwracke of his owne soule.

A second function of religion is polliticall, appertayning to publike gouernment, and to contayne people in obeyence, and dew obseruation of lawes, wherin all antiquetyes beare witnesse, that whosoeuer well and wisely haue founded cityes, societys, or common wealthes, they haue alwayes had this part of religion much respected: which as it nothing detracts from the maiesty of religion, so doth it make the same, to bee holden in higher reucrence, whilst the vse and profit thereof, extends it selfe in each mans eye, to the gouerning of all humane affayres, and preseruation of e-

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very well planted state. Of that first and excellent part, we haue no purpose to speake, for it little appertaines to the argument in hand, wherein it shall suffice thus much alone bee laid, that all the lyfe of euery Christian man, ought especially to bee spent in giuing thanks, to that deuine deity, by whose goodnessse we haue our soules illuminated, with the bryght beames of true religion, all cloudes of erronious darknesse driuen away, wherewith the mindes of such as are ignorant in the same bee houtely blinded, whereby wee may finde, how much better by infinit degrees, the condicione of Christians is, rather then that of the Mahumetans, who misled by the lyes of that wicked Imposter, and following his damned positions, diuerting from the eternall path of saluation, are carryed headlong in theyr misbelife to hell tormentes, and everlasting damnation: but let the vrging of this point, be the office of deuines, and now againe to my purpose.

Then let vs come to the poynt, which is proper to our question, wherin it shall be nothing pertinent whether any professed religion, bee true or false, (for that as befoore is said, appertaynes to the soules saluation) but whereof the vvhole substance vwill censist in this, that what religion soever receyued, may be sincerely & carefully obserued, by the supportacion of such a religion, onely kingdo mes and nations, haue gathered great wealth, and attayned to great estimation, power, and dignity, as may be manifestly proued, both by forceable reason, and many memorable examples. For whereas it was apparent, that the chiefe and best meanes to enlarge any Empire, is appropriate to the true knowledge of

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of managing armes, and the glory of millitary profession, in which two thinges, are specially respected, obedience and discipline, of both these, religion I say is the principall foundation, whereby it alwayes came to passe, that euery nation aduaunced at any time to greatnessse, haue euer beeene studious, and most carefull preseruers of the same.

In mayntayning which position omitting numbers, that may bee named, I will content mee with the Romaines, who farre surpassed all other people in wisedome, as in wealth, valour, and glory.

For these graue and true experienced men, finding that the considerations of religion, were of great force, both to beautifie their state, and enlarge theyr Empire, in no one thing laboured more then the true obseruation of the same, possessing theyr people still with opinions of feare and reuerence towardeſ theyr Gods. To which always ſo great beliefe was giuen, as nothing was euer executed in publike or priuate, which was not attempted, as hauing the Gods the firſt authors thereof. So as what euer of their affayres were finished, what newe designes taken in hand, what expedicion put in practise, what fortune of war assayed which was not done, the Gods firſt consulted, nor did they labour any other thing in thofe theyr vowing and rendring vowes, dedication of Temples, obſeruation of progedies (wherin the wiſe of that age were exceeding ceremonious) with ſacrifice and ſupplications, beſeeching the good will of the Gods, but to perſwade the people that whatſoever was done was all by the pleasure & permiffion of the ſame gods, who obſeruing euery

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euery action of mans life,becomes sharpe chastisers of wrong and wickednesse, but most seuerre reuengers of theyr owne neglected or contemned deitie, whereby it came to passe,that amongst those *Romaines*,no cryme was accompted so haynous,as that of an oth or faith plighted & broken : and of this religion how great the estimation was,it may perfectly appeare,by that example onely,when as the counsell,with so great dilligence laboured,to diswade them from those assemblyes of the Tribunes,determining in the fauour of the people to propound certaine lawes,against which the Senate in oposition,could give no other let, but that the consulls should proclaime, the leading forth of the legions in expedition,from the attendance of which warfare,whilst the people had no power to resist,neither could the authoritye of the Tribunes give any redresse,they before hauing in that case sworne their obeydience to the consull, and seeing no other meanes,how to rid them of their religious oath then by the death of the sayd consull,consulted amongst themselues to kill him:whereof they had put the practyse in full execuryon,if it had not further beene tould them, that no religon could bee dissolued by any contruyed mischiefe:holding murder as it seemed, in a lesse degree then the violatyon of theyr faith.Which one thing,euer held their souldiers so obseruant to the will of their commanders,to whom they had once given the assurance of the same, that that people which in a settled peace,was never but stubborne and rebellious agaynst theyr superiors,the same in war were euer found quiet & contented,bound onely by this military oath,whereof by peace alwayes they became

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became discharged . To which againe may be said,so great was their regard,that they would prefer the obseruation of the same,before the preseruacion of their owne liues: submitting their heads even to the block, if at any time according to the manner of those wars the Consuli should giue in command for any seruice not well executed,that a Capitall decimating amongst them, should be made, and by this it came to passe, that through the doubtfull daunger of death,both by the enemie and their commander propounded: their souldiours alwaies in vwarres vvere assured to doe the vtmost of their iudeuours to ouercome: chosing rather to dye valiantly fighting,then be vanquished,least in the feare of an incertaine death, vvhose perill they might perhaps auoide by bouldnesse and resolution, they might incurre that certaine slaughter,from auoyding vwhereof, Religion cut of all hope: For vwhich cause,I ludge that no vvise man will deny mee but Religion as in euery publike designe, so especially in the affaires of vvarre, is a most firme foundation.

Now whether that this part of religion is either of the *Turks* or vs *Christians*, not more sincere care and sacred constancie obserued,I rather leaue it to euery mans peciall opinion,then therin to deliuere my owne iudgement,yet soome things I will note by the vway: as they come into my minde.First since that the especiall parts o' religion consisteth principally in this,that all things be referred to that supreme power by whose wil we believe euery humane action to be gouerned, it is vvonder how far the *Turks* for this point surpassee vs, having that opinion with such firmnes settled in their minds &

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attributing so much to the deuine prouidence, that ther in they seeme rather to exceede to much, then beleue to little, vwhilst necessarily they vwill tye vwhat euer befalls vs, vnto fate, by no humane countells or prouision auoidable: For vwhich cause they suppose that by ſame fate a certaine limit of time is affigned euery mans lyfe, vwhich neither can be prolonged beyond the ſame, neither by any meanes of vs shortned, & therfore vvhē the appointed houre of death ſhall come, of necessitie the ſame muſt be vndergone: in vwhich houre, vve are as certaine to dye, though priuately ſhut vp in any chamber & deuided by all meanes from danger, as if a man vver conuersant in the heat & fury of fight, vher a thouſand vveapons vver bent againſt his boſome, vwhich death, if not by heauen decreed, there amonſt theſe vveapons of as great ſafetie may a man affiue himſelfe, as in his owne chamber: now this opinion though it may be diſproued, in ſo much as thus it attributeith to the neceſſtie of destinie or fate, yet to ſy matter handled, it brings this great good, that the *Turkes* become therby more coſtient & bould, vwhether fighting in battail or vndertaking any other dangerous exploit, because thereby the feare of death is fully bereaued the, the certaintie wherof as they conceaue, coſifteth not in perills, but in their vnauidable destinie. Now that all humane affaires are in the ſupreme & deuine moderation, depēding wholly vpon the power of heauen, is a moſt holy true & *Christian* opinion, which as euerie man ought conſtantlie beleue, ſo muſt we eſchew all cauſes that ſeeme to impeach the credit thereof. And therfore vve are to conſider, leaſt by the contrarie perſwasions of any philoſophie,

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phie, vve may be miſled, eſpeciallie by that of the *Peripatikes*, whose opinions are now a daies in high estimation. The great part of whom doe ſo diſpute of the deuine nature, as thought it had no humane affaires, nor could haue anie in conſideration, being a moſt damned doctrine, & vnworthie ſy maieſtie of heauen, for ſo with one ſtoke they viterlie cut of all religion: For in vaine then ſhould we praie, vow, ſacrifice, or by anie other aſt of grace, beſeck the goodneſſe of almighty God, craue his affiſſance, or deſire he ſhuld beholde vs in mercy, whē vve are auuffed before hand, that none of all theſe he ei-ther doth, or can regard: which impediment is bereaued the *Turkes* vwhilst they are quite forbidden the ſtudie of *Philofophie*, (though I am not ignorant how that wicked ſeducer *Mahomet*, had therin a further meaning: viz: leaſt by the knowledge therof, the great vanitie & ſmal groūd in the promulgatiō of his lawes might apeare,) ſo greatly hath this ignorance proued profitable to the *Turkes*, for the maintenance of their opinion in Religion. But whether the ſtudie of *Philofophie* bringeth more good or hurt it is not my purpose here to diſpute, reſeruing it for a longer argumēt & more oportune time & place. Now this opinion thus planted in the mindes of the *Turks*, makes them fearful of the deuine maieſtie, and inflames the with a reverēd regard of religion: By which it comes to paſſe, that though this their ſeruing of God be full of error, yet ſhall wee finde every where many excellent ſignes of their blynd deuotion, commending their diligēce to the furtherāce of the ſame: For none the they doth with greater reue. Ece repaire to their temples, proſtrate with al humility, crauing pardō of their ſins by the

Hh.ij.

assistance

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asistance of Gods spirit, holding all holy things in high veneration, wherein omitting other, they so much respect, not only theyr owne priestes, and religions, but euen those of ours, as they accounted it in the highest degree of sin, to iniury any one of them any way, which hath ben approued by infinit examples of pirates, of whom a number (as often it hath fallen out) hauing taken any Priest of ours, haue presently let him at liberty, least by retayning the seruant of God, they might thereby importune the same God to reuenge his wrong.

Another thing to their great commendation is, that none then they more carefully looke to the conseruation of their lawes, none punishing the publike breach thereof in whosocuer, more seuerely. For which there is never heard with them, any blasphemy agaynst God, any adultryes committed, or ought else wherin ther is offence, either in the violation or negligent obseruation of the same. And yet for all this, I am not Ignorant that by the same impious & execrable law, more haynous sins are permitted, but that it may appeare, how strickt euen the mightiest are in preseruing their saide lawes, wee haue in this age a memorable president testyfied in the person of the great Emperour *Solyman*, which I will heere recount. This *Solyman* amongst those number of excellent chosen women, who are kept specially for the kings concubines (for it is permitted by the law of *Mahumet*, that euery Turke may hould so many concubynes as he is able to mayntayne,) calling one among the rest more often then any other, & she perceyuing therby, how the Emperour was mightely possest with hir loue, by a cunning drift so much effected with him, as shew obteyned

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hir freedome, (for it is to be noted, that as well boyes as girles, to shut vp in the Seraglio, are his slaves,) after which beeing by Coatch sent for as at other times to come & accompany the said Emperour, made answere, how the much admired, what reason the great Signeur had, who beeing a prince of so much maiestie doubted nothing publikely, to enfringe the holy law of *Mahumet*, by which it was prouided in playne words, that no man in such sort should accompany free women, & therby so grieuously to offend, euen in the view of his people, whose eyes were all cast vpon him. Now the Emperour much moued with this answere, as likewise brideling for the present the heate of his desire, demanded the next day, of the learned in theyr lawes, whether by law it might be admitted any man to keepe free women, for theyr concubines, whervnto when he had receaued answere, that it was not lawfull, and not enduring the want of that wench, whom he loued entirely, the sayd *Solyman* for that reason married hir. Now I neede not on the contrary part to recount, how *Christians* carry themselues in the like cases, least I further exulcerate those wounds by handling, which I am sure by admouishing will not be cured.

The next place to religion, whether establisng any commonon wealth, or enlarging a dominion, is worthe-ly attributed to discipline, wherein beetwixt vs and the *Turkes*, the very truth is, in my opinion, that there is admitted no comparison, whilst discipline is a thing with them of high estimation, but with vs of little or no account, & that this is so, it appeares cleerely in this that euery yeere the great Emperour at certaine seasons

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sends his inquisitors abroad through all parts of his territories, to make election of the choise children to be found of an assinged age, which inquisitors where they come, calling together all the sayd children of the same place, select from amongst them, such whose towardnesse and inclination sheweth it selfe, either by the disposition of the members, or countenaunce fit for their purpose, those they take, whom bringing to the court, there by especiall maisters provided, be they instructed in all manner of martiall discipline, by which & through much exercise, their bodies and mindes are confirmed to endure euery labour, nor is there any one entartayned in their warfare, but such as by much exercise are invited to this discipline: whereas on the other side it is hourelly seene, that our armes for the most part, doe stand of men, both rude and vnexperienced in all marciall demeanours or discipline.

This aboue named discipline, hath in it a triple vse, wherof the first is the true knowledge of things appertayning to the warres, this drawing with it an enabling of the bodies forces: by which it falleth out, as we haue often seene theyr strength approued, that an arrow shot from a *Turkish* bow, hath clouen the shanke of a gallie oare, where the wood hath beene nine inches thicke, so as the head of the same arrow, hath shewed it selfe on the other side: whereas such souldiours as wee put in pay, without consideration, are chosen in companies ignorant of all things appertayning, & then for the most part learning the vse, and art of theyr weapons, when there is more need valiantly to manage them.

Another commoditie of discipline is, that it prepares

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pares the bodye to the enduring of labour and wants, inables the minde to an invincible resolution, in bearing all extremities, which misery, or the scarcity of things, may cast vpon man.

For theyr mindes accustomed to continuall exercise, cannot bee daunted with paynes, spare diet, or other inconueniences, wherwith it is daily acquaynted, content consisting, not in many, but necessary things: so as wee see theyr great armes long time, often kept together with small prouision, theyr fleetes and land preparations, executing aught with exceeding expidition, whilst a huge part of baggage, ordenarily (attending other campes) giues to them no let.

Whereas both our land and sea forces, are still encumbered, with loadings of houshold prouision, our souldyours euer faynting without the affluence of every thing, theyr bodyes impatient of labour, and this not onely when they want not things necessary, but if they abound not with delicates, so as to our shame bee it spoken, a man may obserue in our campes, those excesses of feastings and needless fare, which euen in the plentifullnesse of peace, myght in Cities perhaps seeme riotus, where amongst other things ill beseeming, it irkes me to thinke, that men should bee brought to so much nicenesse, as in a fleet, to haue Snow carried, for cooling their wine.

The third vse of discipline is the profit of obedience, the which there is no one greater vertue in the exercize of armes. This as it is with the *Turks* more in estimation then euer in any age the like hath ben seene with other nations. So of all people in the contrary heereof wee are

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are desperately diseased, even to the death, our souldiers being mutinous, factious, disobedient, who fashioned by no rules of discipline, conteined in dutie, by no regard o' punishment, in their owne camps, themselues to themselves for the most part work more mischiefe, then vhat at any time they receave from the weapons of the enemy: vwhich tolle faults to our greater shame, is as common to the capaines & commanders, as the priuate souldours, a number of whom studyeng their perticuler reuege, their priuate ambitio, or (then which vwith men of vvar there is naught more odious) their seruyle gayne, betray their countrie, neglect their Princes command, and vwithout executing aught vorthie their trust and imployment, cause often impediments through malitious enuie of a nothers glory, to vhat soeuer might be worthely executed: Such things I saie, vwith vs, men dare dayly do, freed from feare of all condigne punishment, so as I cannot name a place in shame or dishonor baser, vwhether these or the like vwith everlasting Infamie, haue not brought vs.

Next now ensues that I speake of the *Turkis* valor and vertues, no meane causes or of small regard in the inlarging of any Empire, vwherein if I should affirme that they doe much excell vs, I might so both become iniurious to the *Christian* name, and procure my selfe more enuie then I affect. Yet truthe is truth, by vvhom soeuer deliuered, and well I may say that true valour is vwith the *Turkes* of more accompt vwhen to the valiant alone the passage to all militarie promotions is layd open, vwhere any ones merit towards his countrie by any manly act performed, shall aduance him through all

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all degrees of dignitie, even to that vwhich is next the highest with vs, on the contrary Nobility being of greatest reconing, such for the most part euery vwhere commanding, who though they shew smal or no testimonie either of valor or vertue, yet supported by the greatnes of their blood, manage matters as they list. This being that one thing which so much hath exasperated y minds of many worthy *Christian* seruitors, that flying frō those ensignes wher they found no place for their vertue: repair to the *Turks*, who for their good parts fairely intreat them, & according to the prooufe any one makes of his vworth, doth so prefer him to every roome of Honor: their condicion in that point being exceeding commendable, vwho demand not vvhence the man is, but vwhat he is, neither holding that vertue and valor are gifts of granfathers inheritance, like to riches & those other of Fortune. Yet for all this, I must not deny but that nobilitie ought much to be esteemed, being in it selfe of great might to stir vp the minde to honorable actions: and a rich ornament to all such as haue vertue therunto conjoined. But barely to prefer nobility before valor & vertue, or for any mans gentry folly to commend him to the greatest functions in a common wealth, or to command an army, that utterly I disallow, as full of danger to any state: I highly reverencie the kinred of kings & princes, whom to haue placed in great comāds, is not alone without peril, but profitable. For if authoritie be of estimation in all humane affaires, in those of the wars especially it is a most material point, wherin the Soule and lyfe of good gouerning, chiefly consisteth: as hauing obediēce alwaies attendant, no one thing more furthering,

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as I haue said euery warlike designe; & therfore to such all souldiors & captaines without repining, submit their greatnessse, not being subiect to enuie & misreports, before whom euery man forceth himselfe for the formeſt, because the testimonie of their valor & vertue shewen in their princes preſence cannot be cōcealed by the calumniations of any backbiter, whereby as often it happens, men doe diſpair of a due reward. In theſe things therfore I would thus be vnderſtod, that wher ther wants a due mixture of their parts together, compouaded: it is better in my cōceit by the Turkish president to prefer in cōmand a man endwed with vertue lacking thoſe extērior badges of great blood, then that any ſupported by nobilitie, ſhould bear ſway Indigent of thoſe perfeſtions which at firſt begot all true Nobilitie.

*Malo pater tibi ſit Thirſites, dum modo tu ſis
Æacide ſimilis: Vulcanaq; arma capeffas.
Quam te Thirſite ſemilem, producat Achilles.*

The laſt though not the leaſt of thoſe things which antiquitie haue attributed to the neceſſitie of the well eſtabliſhing any ſtate, ſtandeth in measuring arightly according to euery mans merit, reward of well doeing or puñiſhment of it. Now in either part how far we are to the Turks inferior, it is often admired. But leaſt I giue occaſion of further offence, & procure from many that haſted which I deſire not to vndergoe, I will deſiſt frō further prosecuting this course, in preferring theſe Turkish conſiderations with ours, & onely wil ſay that as the whole ſcope of their couſels & other projects tends to the glo‐ ry to be gotten by the vvars, ſo are all ours in an other kinde more excellent, for the maintenance of common ſocietie

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Societie & the ſtudies of peace, which vwith ſo infinit a deſire we hunt after, as all charge, all expēce of time, & mony, all care & diligēnce is held both light & little, for obteining the ſame. And this appeareth firſt by ſgreat numbers of Priests, Mounks, Freers, & other religious, poſſeſſing great power, & wealth, with large lands, and ſtately erected monaſteries, wherwith the plentiſh cou‐ tries of Europe, are euery vwhere peſtered: to vvhom a great part both of Christendomes reuenues & cōmodities be comd. This I doe not diſallow but much commend the pietie & wiſedome of our anſtors, who haue bene ſo boūtiful in beſtowing to holy vſes, ſo liberal towards the maintenance of Gods ſeruice, releueing the neceſſtie of the poore, and both nouriſhing & cheriſhing the ſtudies of Arts & euery good literature. Another thing with vs is, that our ſeates of Iuſtice prolong the deci‐ ding of cauſes, with many quiddetyes, & delayes, which is the ſole reaſon that we ſee ſo many lawiers & judges, ſo many attorneys, ſolicitors, clarks, notaries, aduocates & proctors, to whom ſo great rewards & large fees are aſſigned, as this practiſe of ſ law (lyke to that other) hath drawen with it no little part of the welth of Christendom. Againe, the Scholes of good learning are by vs vwith great charge maintained, to which many repaire, & per‐ ceauing the accompt that learned men daily liue in, doe ſpend either all, or the greatest part of their life in that profeſſion. Laſtly (good god) what coſt is beſtowed in euery handi-craft thing, what huge foundations hourly laid, what ſtate & abundāce of publike & priuate build‐ ings, what ſuperfluety in enſignes of honor, picturs, hāg‐ ings, & plate, what delicacy in euery houſhold proviſiō:

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What riot in feastings: what pride & expēce in apparel: vwith how great stipends are the masters in these Artes maintained, all which as they greatly beautifie our Christian countries, maligne the Turks in regard of vs to appeare rude & vnpolish: so are they vtterly ill fitting for martiall affaires, or enlarging of an Empire, vwhilst they consume & wast a great part of that wealth which were better bestowed in the wars.

Now vwith the Turkes all these things are in proportion, ether small or none. Their Preists & Religious are very few, their lyuing little, supplyed with things onely necessary. Their law determinations want demurs, and delatory plees receauing sentence at the first or second hearing, vwithout tossing so many volumes of the civill & Canon Codices; with their comments: so many yeere bookeſ of the common lawes course, wherby ſo great ſtore of counſells & aduocates, ſuch quantitie of clerks and notaries are in ſmall request.

Ther is amongſt them no orders of Monks & Freeers, no Pyles of ſtately builded Palaces; no ſumptuousneſſe in their dayly port, but thrifty cariage, ſpare dyet, vwherein the hands of cunning cookeſ haue no medling: the Turkes neither caring or cravuſg these things, but ſpending vwhat they haue in theyr needfull preparations for the wars, vwhere vvealthe and rewards are peculiarily appropriate to the valiant. No marueill therefore that ſo many as I haue ſayd, of worthy Christian ſeruitours, leauē the diſplayed Banners of IE SVS, vwhere ſmall and for the moſt part, no conſideration is allotted their merits, repairing theſter wher they finde riches and estimation the guerdon of well dooing.

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Now ſince the one and onely meanes, of the Turkish glory, doth proceede from the warlike designes, it is no wonder that all their endeaouours, ſhould wholy bee bent to that, which thus alone drawes with it honor, ri-ches, & power, wherby we ſee how they excell all other nations, in martiall estimatyon, & execution of high exployts, what great numbers of valiant ſouldiours, they continually keepe in pay, how huge forces of horſe and foote they maintaine, ſo as to all people their name is now becomd fearefull, & that alwaies they returne victors from every war once vndertaken, for inlarging their dominion, our mens mindes on the other part by multiplicite of knowledges and imployments, being ſo diſtraught as few can ſpare any time to follow ſuch ſeruice: through as I ſaid the innumerable ſorts of handy crafts, ſtudyeng of arts, & profeffing of religion, things indeed that haue diuerted y thoughts of the greater part, of able Christian bodies, frō the affectionation of armes, for it is the condicion of man, with greater content to follow that course of life, which is eafe, ſafe, leſſe paynefull, & free from danger, then that other of the wars, profeffed enemy to reſt & quietneſſe: especially when this firſt with pleasure, brings neuertheleſſe the commodityes of estimatyon & ri-ches, mañifesting the apparent reason that thus we ſee all our cities, ſo replenished with marchants, craftsmen, inholders, vinteners, & ſuch like: every place reporting the diſputations & diſſerent opinions of Philosophers, & deuines, with continuall canualling of law caſes. All which things as they mightely I ſay, adorne our peaceable part of the world, ſo doe they wholy diſable all martiall credyt, for which wee finde vpon every occa-

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occasion, how weake our forces are; for cause of the small number, who follow the wars. In which, this further I dare affirme, from sound iudgment, that of that age, whole bodies through Christendome are fit for the wars service; the hundredth person scarce doth apply him to that profession, whereas on the contrary with the Turks, the greater part alwaies doe wholly deuote themselves, to the practise of armes.

But now let vs come to the inflicting of punishment due to offenders, the feare wherof, of equall conteines men in compasse, both to the ciuell and martiall discipline: wholesome lawes being with vs, as well as with the Turks, to that end established. Yet the vigor & force of good lawes, should not consist in a positive decree, but in a and sacred inviolable obseruation of the same: the rigor whereof we Christians, for the most auoide by the cunning distinctions of lawyers, mitigate by the fauour of great personages, or breake through by our owne power. Where with the Turkes these thinges are otherwise, there being left no meanes to obtaine pardon of any offence, no hope of escaping punishment: so as we see with vs all thinges to be corrupt & dissolute: liberty for each one to doe what he list. Our souldiours licentious & freed from feare of punishment, with carelesse carriage, executing what ever is committed to their charge, still mutinous, & sedicious, respectlesse of command, great doers in words, little indeed in skirmish making courtise, who shold first begin, or rangd to fight, running away the first squadrons scarcely chargd, or before any honest hazard of fortune were attempted: & although we haue as cannot be denied diuers worthy cap-

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taines, who are not impeachable, of any these crimes, yet what shall those few excellent men effect in reforming the generall corrupt conditions of time, in faith little: whose vertues are to feeble, to encounter the outgrown vices of this age. Againe it is well knownen, that many great commanders ther are, who casting away their priuate counsels & consideratiōs, prefer the publike good: yet even these haue such for inferiour leaders, who are no lesse, (if not more) faulty: then the ordinary souldiour: the greater part of whom follow the service for gaine, and make a traficke of the warres. Who when a muster of men is to passe, and pay to bee made, beclie their number, either borrowing, or subborning base fellowes, to fill vp such roomes as are fayling, whereby it falleth out that the payes bee euer strong, but the companies weake.

Now none of all these defaults bee conuersant in the Turkish campe, where the souldiour is euer seruicable, and at commaund, executing what they haue in charge carefully, referring their heat of courage to encounter the enemy, which with high resolution they both vndertake and maintayne: nothing dismayed, with a first ouerthrow, nor discouraged with the enemies second good successe, whereby to leaue the field, but valiauntly fighting conteyned, more by the force of their lawes, & the punishment therof, then by feare of the enemy, keepe theyr assigned ranckes, expecting the best, and enduring the vtmost of good or bad fortunes chances, who alwaies bearing in mind, the fearefull spectacles of those theyr barbarous chastisements, as ther may be caused, determine either to depart,

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the field as victors, or if fortuue enuie theyr valour, rather there to receiue an honest death, from the edge of the enemies weapon, then at home to be strangled, or haue his throat cut, by a hangman. Againe whilst the valour, of the leader striues with the obedience of the souldyours, who never haue their priuate counsels, derived from the publike good, we find them to performe most excellent offices: in theyr seuerall places both towards their king and country.

These are such obseruations (true honoured Colom-
n) as formerly I sayde, haue long possest my minde,
touching the greatnessse of this *Turkisb Empire*,
which if you allow, I shall the better like, if o-
therwise, conceale them to your selfe. I
pray, least they may chance into such
mens hands, as may detract
from the estimation of
my iudgement.

FfNIS.

